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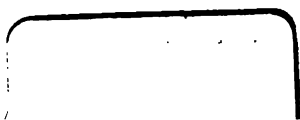
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**CENTRAL ASIA:**

**FROM**

**THE ARYAN TO THE COSSACK.**

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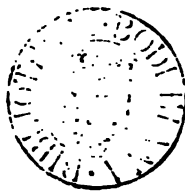
**BY**

**JAMES HUTTON,**

**AUTHOR OF**

**'A HUNDRED YEARS AGO,' 'MISSIONARY LIFE IN THE SOUTHERN SEAS,'**

**ETC. ETC.**



**LONDON:**

**TINSLEY BROTHERS, 8, CATHERINE STREET, STRAND.**

**1875.**

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**JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.**

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# CENTRAL ASIA:

FROM

## THE ARYAN TO THE COSSACK.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### GENERAL OUTLINE.

THE ARALO-CASPIAN SEA—GENERAL OUTLINES OF CENTRAL ASIA—THE ARAL SEA—THE UST URT—THE CHINK—HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS—SIR HENRY RAWLINSON'S THEORY—ANCIENT COURSE OF THE OXUS—THE AMOU OF THE PRESENT DAY—THE JAXARTES, OR SYR—THE CASPIAN SEA.

ACCORDING to the late Sir Roderick Murchison,—no mean authority on questions relating to geognosy,—at a time long antecedent to the creation of man, the vast region, familiarly known to the present generation as Central Asia, was covered by a sea that washed the foot of a mountain range, which, at a later period, constituted the boundary lines of Afghanistan and the Chinese Empire. This pre-historic sea was spread over an area computed at 8000 square marine leagues, and extended from the Hindoo Koosh to the European shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Asof. To this huge depression on the surface of the globe Sir Roderick proposed—in compliment to Humboldt the originator of the theory—to give the name of the Aralo-Caspian Sea, whose denizens appear to have had a purely local range, and to have been clearly distinguishable from the molluscs and other marine animals inhabiting the outer ocean.

At some unknown point in the latest tertiary era the barren plateau between the Caspian and the Aral Seas is believed to have been thrown up by subterranean agencies, followed, at a greater or less interval, by the upheaval of the much fabled range of the Caucasus, the Kaf of Eastern romance and the abode of that marvellous bird the Simurgh, the foe of the Deevs and the friend of man. As no traces, however, have been discovered of the junction of the Euxine with the Caspian, this theory must, to a certain extent, be regarded as rather speculative than scientific, though good grounds may exist for ascribing to volcanic phenomena the separation of the Caspian and the Aral Seas, and the upheaval of the dry lands recently comprising the Khanata of Khwarezm or Khiva, and Bokhara. It is certain that the fossiliferous limestone forming the basis of the steppes contains the identical molluscs,—the cockle, the periwinkle, and the aporachis—which, according to General Abbott, still exist in the waters of these two inland seas. Nor is it less probable that the surface of the Aral is upwards of a hundred feet higher than that of the Caspian, the elevation of the broad intervening plateau, known as the Ust Urt, averaging not less above the level of the ocean.

For our present purpose it may suffice to define Central Asia as the much varied region bounded on the west by the Caspian; on the south-west by the Persian Province of Khorasan; on the south by Afghanistan, Kashmeer, and Little Tibet; on the east by the Chinese Empire; on the north by the river Irtysh; and on the north-west by the Ural river. The general aspect of this immense tract is fairly, if roughly, described by a writer in Pinkerton's Collection: 'Between Great Tartary on the north, and Tibet, India, and Persia on the south, there runs a long tract of land, extending from the Great Kobi, or desert on the north-west part of China, westward as far as the Caspian Sea. This country is situated in a sandy desert with which it is



surrounded ; or, rather, is itself a vast sandy desert, interspersed with mountains and fruitful plains, well inhabited, and watered with rivers. Nature seems to have divided this region into three large parts, by the names of the countries of Karesm, Great Bucharia, and Little Bucharia.'

Towards the north-west, enclosed between barren rocks and arid steppes, the basin of the Aral Sea—the Blue Sea of the Russians—occupies a space 360 miles in length from north to south, by 240 miles in extreme breadth from east to west : equivalent to an area of 86,400 square miles. On the east and north this expanse of brackish water is surrounded by clay plains ridged by hillocks of loose drifting sand, while on the west it is divided from the Caspian by the Ust Urt, a rocky, unculturable waste, 240 miles in length by 160 miles in breadth, and rising almost precipitously from the sea, but sloping gradually to the westward. It is, in fact, a continuation of the great steppe possessed by the Kirghiz Kuzzaks, and more particularly belongs to the Lesser Horde. At its south-eastern extremity it terminates abruptly in a bold escarpment some 500 feet in height, at the foot of which a level plain spreads out to an enormous distance. From this point the high land turns sharply to the west-north-west, and the angle thus formed is called by the Kirghiz, The Chink.

The southern portion of the sea is extremely shallow, and swarms with small islands, whose inhabitants live chiefly upon fish, and are described as skilful boatmen venturing upon the use of sails, while the Kirghiz are content to ply the oar. The Aibugir Lake, or Gulf, at the south-western extremity of the Aral, was overgrown with canes when visited by M. Kühlewein in 1858, although it received the Laudan, an important branch of the Amou. This gulf is stated to be eighty miles long by twenty miles broad, and appears to have been dried up at the time of the late Russian expedition, through the diversion of

the Landan by the Khivese for purposes of irrigation. It is only near the mouth of the Amou that the water of the Aral is drinkable, being elsewhere exceedingly brackish. Carp and a small sturgeon are caught in considerable quantities.

To the Arab geographers the Aral was only known as the Sea of Khwarezm, by which name and that of the Sea of Urghunj it is still called by the people of the Khanut. According to Generals Mouravief and Romanof, Aral Denghiz, the Kirghiz appellation, signifies the Sea of Islands, while others maintain that its proper signification is the Sea of Eagles. It was first surveyed by Admiral Alexis Boutakof, by whom also the first steamship that ever churned these waters was launched and navigated. Moved more by an abstract love of science than by patriotic considerations, the Royal Geographical Society, in 1867, presented their Founder's Medal to that gallant officer, whose extension of geographical knowledge has been since otherwise appreciated and utilized by his own government.

Although on a level with the Euxine, the Aral, as already remarked, is more than one hundred feet above the surface of the Caspian, and the Toorkomans maintain that at Kara Goombuz the waters from the one sea may be heard flowing to the other, under-ground. If it be true that such sounds are at times audible, they are probably caused by subterranean drainage from the Amou, some portion of whose waters may follow under-ground their old course towards the Caspian. The Toorkomans who dwell on the shores of the Kara Bughaz Bay account for the remarkable current into that gulf, by the theory that the overflow of the Caspian thence escapes by a covert channel communicating with the Aral, the comparative elevation of the two seas being a point quite beyond their comprehension.

As a scientific fact it may be stated that there is no outlet for the redundant waters of either, and that the adjacent lands are saved from flooding by evaporation alone. Were it not for



this powerful agent of nature, the depth of the Aral, if General Abbott's estimate may be credited, would be annually increased twenty-six inches by the influx of the Amou and the Syr, and to at least an equal extent through the snow and rain that fall on its surface or drain into it from the steppes. Although of considerable depth in the centre, the Aral is not above two or three feet deep near the southern and eastern shores, so that its waters become speedily heated under the fierce rays of the sun of Khiva. There is, besides, good reason to believe that the volume of the Amou has sensibly diminished within quite recent times, through the desiccation of many of its affluents. These again have gradually dried up through the decrease of the glaciers in the high mountains, observed by M. Semenov, and through the neglect of their channels due to the diminution of the agricultural population by incessant strife and bloodshed. It is in this manner that eminent geographer accounts for the drying up of the branch of the Amou which formerly turned off to the south-west and fell into the Caspian, for he holds to the opinion that even at that time the main channel of the river proceeded in a northerly direction to the Aral.\*

\*The late Colonel Romanof who was on the personal staff of the Grand-Duke Nicholas Constantinovitch during the recent campaign, made some very pertinent remarks on this subject in one of his interesting letters headed 'On the way to Khiva!'

'The station of Katty Kul,' he says, 'was founded near a sweet-water lake, which is now completely dried up, and the supply of water is obtained from a well eight versts from the station. The transformation of sweet water into salt, and the desiccation of the latter, are very remarkable and constantly recurring phenomena in all the steppes of Central Asia. Within the memory of many the water in the rivers Irghiz, Turgai, Sarysu, and others was fresh, but now it has a bitter salt taste. The site for the recently-constructed fort of Lower Emba was chosen on Lake Masshe, chiefly because its water was fresh. When the fortress was built the lake became salt, so that now the garrison have to procure their supply of water from wells in which the water is brackish. The gradual, but very perceptible, diminution of the lakes and other water-basins of Central Asia, arising from the excessive dryness of the climate, is

The historians of Alexander the Great make no mention of the Aral, nor does any allusion to it occur in the pages of any classical writer until early in the second part of the fourth century of the Christian era, when Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of two rivers that rushed down headlong from the mountains, and, descending into the plains, commingled their waters and formed the Oxia Palus. In Dr Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, however, it is suggested that the Oxia Palus is identical with the Karakul Lake, which is now the termination of the Kohik, or river of Samarkand. Both Herodotus and Strabo appear to have had some knowledge of a series of lagoons watered by the overflowing of the Jaxartes, which was supposed by most early writers to empty itself into the Caspian some 80 parasangs from the mouth of the Oxus. The Aral, when first recognized as something more than a region of pools and swamps, was regarded as the extreme eastern portion of the Caspian, which was thought to communicate, by a long narrow strait, with the Northern Ocean.

Sir Henry Rawlinson rejects Humboldt's theory—adopted by Sir R. Murchison—of the Aralo-Caspian Sea that once filled the entire concavity of Turan, extending to the Black Sea, the Northern Ocean, and the Balkash Lake. Briefly, Sir Henry maintains that from B. C. 600 to A. D. 500, that is, for a period of 1100 years, both the Oxus and the Jaxartes emptied themselves into the Caspian, and that the Aral did not then exist as an inland sea. Even so late as A. D. 570, when Zemarchus, the Byzantine envoy, was returning to the west from the encampment of the Khakhan at the foot of the Ak-tagh, or White

an undoubted fact, and can be proved by the division of the large Lake of Alakul into three smaller basins, the separation of Lake Chelkar-Tenghiz, which receives the water of the Irghiz, f.o.n the bay of the Aral Sea, Sary-Cheganak, with which it was at one time united, and many other instances of a similar kind which have occurred in the steppe.'

Mountains, to the north of Samarkand, the Aral was only entitled to the appellation of a reedy marsh, though some thirty years afterwards the Oxus may have ceased to fill its western branch, and have kept to its direct northern channel. About that time the Sea of Kardar, or south-western portion of the Aibugir Lake, which had hitherto been fed by the Urghunj branch, became dried up, and exposed to view the ruins of a treasure city submerged in a remote age. According to Persian traditions these ruins were successfully excavated and rifled for a period of twelve years, and are placed by General Abbott, under the name of Berrasin Gelmaz, in a small island, though Admiral Boutakof fixes the locality of 'Barsa Kilmesh' in a salt marsh a little to the west of the Aibugir Lake.

For the next 600 years the Aral is described by the Arab geographers in terms that might be applied to it at the present day, though between the ninth and twelfth centuries three successive capital cities, situated at the apex of the Delta, were destroyed by sudden floods. The course of the river, too, was constantly shifting, according to the greater or smaller quantity of water diverted from the main channel for purposes of irrigation. In A. D. 1221,—Sir Henry continues,—Octai or Okkadai Khan, the son of Chinghiz Khan, when besieging Urghunj, broke down the dam that regulated the flow of the waters, and directed the full force of the stream against the walls of the town, which, being built of clay, were speedily undermined and swept away; about three years later the Oxus again forced its way to the Caspian, and the desiccation of the Aral commenced at the same time.

The elder Poli travelled from the Volga to Bokhara about 1260 A. D., by a route which must have taken them across the Aral, but that sea is not once mentioned by Marco Polo. Again, in 1330, Hamdullah Mustowfi describes the Amou as flowing from Hazarasp, a town about 40 miles south-east of the



modern town of Khiva, by the Muslim Pass and Kurlawa to Akricheh on the Caspian, near the mouth of the Attrek,—traces of which course were seen by General Abbott in 1840. The same geographer remarks that, owing to the divergence of the Amou in the previous century, the level of the Caspian was sensibly raised, and that the post of Aboskun at the mouth of the Attrek was consequently overwhelmed. During the whole of the 14th century the entire volume of the Amou was poured into the Caspian, while the Jaxartes, or Syr, lost itself in the sands of the desert, but early in the 15th century an anonymous writer, whom Sir Henry Rawlinson suspects to have been Shah Rokh's minister,—and whose manuscript he obtained at Herat,—speaks of the Aral as being dried up, through the drainage into the Caspian of the waters of the Jyhoon and Syhoon, the names given by Mohammedan geographers and historians to the Oxus and Jaxartes.

So far back as the middle of the 13th century the Franciscan Friar, William de Rubruquis, states that the Jaxartes, after creating numerous swamps, was lost in the desert, and about the year 1340 Pegoletti advises travellers bound for Tataria to leave Urghunj to their right, and to strike straight across from Saraichik on the Yaik, or Ural river, to Otrar on the Jaxartes, a route that would traverse the bed of the Aral: nor does that sea appear in the Catalan map of 1375. In short, the existence of the Aral Sea depends upon its two great tributaries, the Amou and the Syr. When the former is deflected, the bed of the sea contracts, and the Syr, being no longer able to force its way to the receding shores, becomes absorbed in reedy marshes.

There can be no doubt that in ancient times the main branch of the Oxus disembogued itself into the Caspian, for both Strabo and Pliny tell us how the merchandise of India was conveyed across the mountains to a stream that flowed into the Oxus, how it descended that river to the Hyrcanian or Caspian

Sea, how it was taken across to the mouth of the Cyrus,—now the Kur,—which it ascended until it could be carried across to the Phasis,—the modern Rion,—down which it dropped till it reached the Euxine, whence it was transported to the various countries of Europe. In those days the Oxus was known as the river that divided Bactria from Sogdiana, and it plays a conspicuous part in the campaigns of Alexander the Great, whose troops, in pursuit of Bessus, crossed it on inflated skins stuffed with straw. The name is an obvious Greek corruption of Wakhsh, a small state lying between the Karategeen range and the petty principality of Darwaz. By the Mohammedan\* invaders it was called simply Al-Nahr, or The River, and the country to the eastward Mawaralnahr—the Maverulnere of the ‘Arabian Nights,’—signifying Transamnia, corresponding to the modern Transoxiana. Their writers, however, adopting the fable that the Garden of Eden was placed at the head of the Badakhshan valley, and imagining that the sources of the Jaxartes were near those of the Oxus, confounded these rivers with the Mosaic Gihon and Pison, and corrupted those names respectively into Jyhoon and Syhoon. To the Oozbeks the Oxus is known as the Darya-i-Amou, or the River of Amou, while the Khivese, according to General Mouravief, call it the Amin Darya, and the Persians, if Mr Bell be a sufficiently good authority, the Ab-telah, or Water of Gold, in allusion to its auriferous sands.

Ibn Haukal, who wrote in the 10th century, speaks of the Jyhoon as flowing into the Sea of Khwarezm—the Aral—which was in no way affected by the rivers it received into its basin, the redundant waters being carried off to the Sea of Khozr by a secret communication. He adds that in the lower, or northern, part of its course it was covered every winter with such thick

\* Hiouen Tsang gives Potsou as the Chinese equivalent, while in the old Zoroastrian books it appears as the Veh-rood, and in Sanscrit as Vanksou.

strong ice that loaded carts were driven across from one bank to the other. At the commencement of the 15th century the Portuguese ambassador, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, alludes with reverence to the Viadme, as he calls it, and describes it as one of the rivers that descended from Paradise. It attains, he says, a league in width, and traverses a flat country with great and wonderful force, until, at last, it reaches its goal in the Sea of Baku—one of the many names of the Caspian. Its muddy waters, he continues, are lowest in the winter season, when its sources in the mountains are congealed, but in April the melting snows begin to fill its broad, deep bed, and for the next four months it is a noble river.

In 1558, Anthony Jenkinson, the shrewd and adventurous representative of the London 'Muscovy Company,' mentions, that on the 5th October he 'struck' a gulf of the Caspian—though it is far more likely to have been the Aibugir Gulf of the Sea of Aral—where the water was fresh and sweet. 'Note,' he continues, 'that in times past there did fall into this gulf the great river Oxus, which hath his springs in the mountains of Paroponius in India, and now cometh not so far, but falleth into another river called Ardock, which runneth toward the North, and consumeth himself in the ground, passing underground above 500 miles, and then issueth out againe, and falleth into lake of Kithay.' A little further on he attributes the desiccation of the Oxus to the numerous canals of irrigation it had to supply, and complains that 'the water that serveth all the countrey is drawn by ditches out of the river Oxus, unto the great destruction of the said river, for which cause it falleth not into the Caspian Sea as it hath done in times past, and in short time all the land is like to be destroyed, and to become a wilderness for want of water when the river of Oxus shall faile.' Six or seven weeks later, he says, he crossed the great and rapid river Ardock, a branch of the Oxus, running 1000 miles to the

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northward,—for half of that distance passing under-ground, then issuing from beneath the earth's surface and terminating in 'the Lake of Kitay.'

It is not a little singular that Jenkinson should make no allusion to the Aral as the recipient of the river he calls the Ardock, which could be no other than the main channel of the Oxus, and which some later writers designate as the Khesel or Kizil, that is, the Red River. In Pinkerton's Collection the Khesel is said to take its rise in the mountains to the north-east of Sogdiana, and to fall into the Aral 50 or 60 miles after receiving the Amou. The writer has here evidently confounded the source of the Amou with that of the Syr, but he goes on to explain how the Khesel, which formerly fell into the Caspian at St Peter's Bay, was in 1719 diverted from that channel by the Tatars, in the hope of destroying by thirst the expedition commanded by the gallant but ill-fated Prince Beckovitch. The Dutch Orientalist Bentinck, in his notes to the '*Histoire Généalogique des Tatares*'—published in 1720—describes the Oxus as bifurcating about 40 leagues from its embouchure; the left arm turning off to the Caspian, while the right arm, which 80 years previously flowed under the walls of Urghunj, then fell into the Kizil, to the ruin of that once flourishing city, and so passed on to the Aral. Jenkinson's confusion is no doubt attributable to his own ignorance of Persian and Toorkee, and consequent dependence on the intelligence and good faith of his interpreter.

That the Oxus did at one time, perhaps at several times, empty itself into the Caspian is a fact that cannot be disputed. The unfortunate Conolly proceeded for some distance up the deserted bed, whose width he estimated at 2000 paces, and General, then Captain Mouravief, met with verdure, reeds, and pools, along the deep broad channel excavated by the mighty river, which seems to have finally divided into two branches

of the present peninsula of Dardji. According to the latest writer the Syr formerly effected a junction with the Amou, but an earthquake, which is said by the Khivese to have happened in the 14th century, separated the two rivers and gave them each the course they now hold. This earthquake is every-where available even though it is mentioned also by Baron M. von Leunigen as a matter of Khivese faith, but he adds that others consider the south-western channel was dammed up in 1670 to check the ravages of the Kurraiks.

About the middle of the 18th century Captain Woodrooffe, who was engaged in surveying the Caspian, under Captain Elton's orders by decree of Nadir Shah, was informed that 'it is now a hundred years since the Oxus emptied itself into the upper end of the (Black) Bay,' and he adds that, the river drying up in many places through the intense summer heat, the Toorkomans had tried, and that by closing the mouth they would retain the water in the channel. The result, however, proved contrary to their expectations, for the river, having no longer any current to clear away the mud that was continually being blown into the bed, soon choked and gradually silted up altogether. This fact was also noted also by M. Khanikof, who mentions, in relation to the construction of a second dam to the eastward of Kengour, behind Tashkent, which effectually turned the Amou to the north.

General Abbott's theory is probably as near the truth as can be desired. The natural course of the Oxus, he says, would be to the Aral, but at some remote period it must have encountered an obstacle that deflected its waters through the desert country lying to the westward. At the same time it was incessantly battering the barrier which opposed its proper passage until at length a breach was effected, when it rushed straight onwards to the Aral. General Abbott is further of opinion that many centuries ago the Syr and the Amou met a



little to the north of Urghunj, and that while a small portion of the out-pourings of the former river found its way to the Aral swamp, the main volume rolled on with its sister stream to the Caspian. By degrees, however, the Syr worked out a straight channel for itself to the north-west, while the Amou, relieved from the shock that sent it off to the south-west, also excavated a way to the northward, and thus in the end both rivers separately disembogued themselves into the Aral, as in ancient times they had conjointly deposited their waters in the bed of the Caspian. The old channel of the Amou is still the natural drain of the Kara-koum desert, so that, as already observed, it may not be impossible that the sound of subterranean waters may be heard at Kara Goombuz.

The Oxus, or the Amou, takes its rise in the Pameer Steppe, the loftiest table-land in the world, and known to the people of Central Asia as the Bam-i-Dunya, or the flat, or terraced, roof of the world. The northern branch, issuing from Lake Sir-i-Kul, has been generally accepted as the father of the stream, though the southern branch issuing from the Pameer Kul appears to be somewhat the longer of the two. The northern branch passes by the specific name of the Panja, and on quitting the lake is barely ankle deep, though 15 feet wide, and running at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles per hour over a smooth bed. It tends at first in a south-west direction as far as Hissar, where it effects a junction with the Dara Sarhad, the southern branch that flows from the Pameer Kul. From this point it pursues a westerly course to Ishkashm, where it turns suddenly to the north, inclosing in the angle thus formed the once celebrated ruby mines of Badakhshan. Bending north-west-by-north, and then towards the south, it forms nearly a semi-circle, receiving three affluents—the Shakh-dara, the Bartang, and the Surk-ab, or Red River—until it reaches the point where it is joined by the Kokcha, nearly due west from the mouth of the Shakh-

'... The majestic river floated on,  
 Out of the mist and hum of the low land,  
 Into the frosty starlight, and there moved,  
 Rejoicing, through the hush'd Chorasmian waste,  
 Under the solitary moon: he flow'd  
 Right for the Polar Star, past Organjé,  
 Brimming, and bright, and large: there sands begin  
 To hem his watery march, and dam his streams,  
 And split his currents; that for many a league  
 The shorn and parcell'd Oxus strains along  
 Through beds of sand and matted rushy isles—  
 Oxus, forgetting the bright speed he had  
 In his high mountain cradle in Pamere,  
 A fold'd circuitous wanderer: till at last,  
 The long'd-for dash of waves is heard, and wide  
 His luminous home of waters opens, bright  
 And tranquil, from whose floor the new-bathed stars  
 Emerge, and shine upon the Aral Sea.'

The 'dash of waters' must be taken as a poetical licence, for the Aral at the mouth of the Amou is but a shallow, isle-bespunged mere. According to Admiral Boutakof, who carefully surveyed the Oxus Delta as well as the Sea of Aral, the river first bifurcates between Kipchak and Khoja-ili, and shortly afterwards divides into several branches, or rather into a network of lagoons. 'The centre part of this portion of the basin forms a sort of depression into which the waters of all the branches excepting the westernmost, empty themselves in a series of lakes, overgrown more or less with reeds; out of these they again flow off in separate channels, discharging themselves into the Sea of Aral.'

The delta lies between the two main branches, the Laudan to the westward, and the Kuvan Jurma to the eastward, other-  
~~wise called~~ <sup>wise called</sup> Kank or Blue River, and lower down the Yangy-Su,  
~~in the river.~~ <sup>in the river.</sup> The Laudan where it creeps into the Aibugir  
~~is not more than~~ <sup>is not more than</sup> 18 inches deep, flowing with a feeble current  
~~and a thick growth of reeds, and with so firm a bottom~~ <sup>and a thick growth of reeds, and with so firm a bottom</sup>

that a caravan of 1500 camels has walked across without difficulty. To check the inroads of the Yomut or Yamood Toorkomans, the Khivese erected a fort near Bent, and constructed a dam across the upper portion of the stream, which has been more than once destroyed by their implacable tormentors.

The extreme eastern branch, again, fills the lakes Dankara and Tampyné-Ayage and then, as the Yangy-su, flows into the Tushé-bas bight of the Aral, opposite Ermolof Island. The Yangy-su is pronounced by the Kirghiz as Jangy-su, and is consequently sometimes confounded with the Jan-i-Darya, a branch of the Syr that loses itself in the sands. In 1848-49, this was the principal outlet of the Amou, so that the water at Ermolof Island, more than nine miles distant, was quite fresh, whereas ten years later the water close in shore had become undrinkably salt owing to the drying up of the Yangy-su.

Of the intermediate streams the most important are the Ulkun Darya and the Taldyk, but even these are not three feet deep in July, and are of course still shallower before the melting of the snows at the end of March. The frequent changes in the course of these various branches were exemplified by the submerged fields and artificial watercourses which Admiral Boutakof observed over the side of his boat, while traversing several small lakes. For at least 50 miles from its mouth the Amou is wholly unfit for navigation, but by closing some of the minor channels the Russians expect to deepen the Ulkun Darya sufficiently to keep open a constant communication with the town of Kungrad.

Though in every other respect inferior to the Amou, the Syr Darya—the Syhoon of the Arab geographers—is likely to exercise a more direct influence in civilizing Central Asia after the Russian standard. In classical times this river was known as the Jaxartes, mistaken, in wilfulness or ignorance, by Alexander's flatterers for the Tanais or Don. Pliny declares that



its Mythian name was the Silis, while in Bell's Notes to Hollar's Ancient History it is asserted that Jaxartes is a corruption of Ik Sert, or the Great River, and that the Sarts were the people who originally dwelt on the banks of the Sert, and were identical with the Abii—from *ab*, a river,—who sent envoys to Alexander the Great on his reaching the Jaxartes. These Abii are, of course, not to be confounded with Homer's Thracian Abii, who lived upon mares' milk and were famed for their love of justice. The Chinese equivalent seems to have been Ye, while the modern appellation signifies the Yellow River.

The town of Cyreschata, or Cyropolis, was constructed by Cyrus the Great on the left bank of the Jaxartes, which formed the northern boundary of his empire. Imprudently crossing the river and invading the country of the Massagetæ, he lost his army and his life at the hands of their warlike Queen, Tomyris. The same great monarch is said to have built six other cities along the course of the Jaxartes, all of which were destroyed by Alexander, who founded in their place Alexandria Ultima, probably near the site of the modern Khojend. Ancient writers, as already remarked, made the Jaxartes fall into the Caspian, which it may possibly have done after uniting its waters with those of the Oxus. Strabo, however, deflects one embouchure to a point about 80 parasangs distant from that of the Oxus, and sends all the other channels to the Northern Ocean.

The Syr Darya properly begins at the confluence of the Naryn and the Gulishan not far from the town of Namangan. The former rises out the southern face of the Kirghiz Ala-tagh, and, winding through six degrees of longitude, rushes impetuously through the Ferghana valley, swollen by many tributaries. The Gulishan, again, issues from the Chatyr Kul, and is inferior to the Naryn both in length and in volume. Their united streams, under the name of the Syr Darya, flow a little to the

south of west until reaching Koshteermen below Khojend, where they turn off suddenly to the northward as far as Hazret. From this point to Yany Kurgan the Syr runs in a north-westerly direction, and thence holds on to the westward until it discharges itself into the Aral near the north-eastern extremity of that sea.

During the latter part of its course the Syr Darya receives no tributaries, and its volume is sensibly diminished in crossing the desert. Its total length from the source of the Naryn is estimated at 1200 miles. Below Baildyr Tungai, which is 538 miles above Fort Perofski, the Syr is a noble river, from 300 to 800 yards in width and varying in depth from 18 to 30 feet. It flows between steep clay banks which are often flooded at certain seasons of the year, while its current is computed at from 3 to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles per hour, according to the period of the day, —for it runs with the greatest strength between ten and eleven in the morning, when it decreases in velocity till two in the afternoon, about which time it recovers its former force and rapidity. The steamers which descend at the rate of six to ten miles in the hour are content to mount the stream at one-third of that speed.

At no great distance from its mouth the Syr spreads out into a marshy brackish delta, not above four feet deep in mid-channel and diminishing to a width of 360 feet in the main stream. On both sides a vast plain of grass, or rushes, stretches out far and wide. In 1863 Admiral Boutakof ascended the river as high as Baildyr Tungai, and two years later steamers ascended even to Namangan. That gallant Admiral is said to have surveyed and mapped the Syr for one thousand miles from its embouchure.

According to Captain Meyer the course of the river is persistently shifting more and more to the northward, owing to the slow but continuous rising of the land to the south.

Throughout the steppe beds of ancient rivers may be traced, while semi-fossilized oceanic molluscs occur in masses, showing that the Aral itself has largely receded from its former limits. Sometimes it happens that a tribe dams up a channel to injure an unfriendly neighbour or rival, and straightway all cultivation ceases, and fields and meadows become an arid waste. Not many years since the main channel of the Syr was the Kuvan Darya, which now stops short in a marshy lake near Khoja Niaz, a hundred miles from the Aral. The present main stream is excessively tortuous between Fort Perofski and Fort 2, and the water has sunk so low that it is navigable for rather less than three months in the year, for vessels drawing three feet of water.

It has already been mentioned that the earlier Greek writers regarded the Caspian Sea as a Gulf of the Northern Ocean. Ptolemy, however, observes: 'The Hyrcanian Sea, called also the Caspian, is everywhere shut in by the land, so as to be just the converse of an island encompassed by the water.' By Ibn Haukal it is named the Sea of Khozr, while to the Muscovites it was originally known as the Sea of Kwalis, that being the name they applied to the tribes dwelling near its shores. In the 14th and 15th centuries it was called the Sea of Baku, from the chief port on the western coast, while Abu'l-Ghazee Khan alludes to it in the 17th century by its Persian appellation of the Sea of Kulsum. It was first navigated by Patroclus, the Admiral of Seleucus and Antiochus. The historical associations connected with this sea will, however, be described in a subsequent chapter.

The water appeared to General Abbott as being very salt, but not bitter, and as clear as crystal. The sea lies in a basin of fossiliferous limestone, the eastern shores being low and swampy, but at the north-eastern extremity precipitous cliffs rise almost out of the water to the height of 700 feet. There

are no tides, but, as Jonas Hanway remarks, 'a prodigious current and confused sea' often result from a sudden change of the wind after it has been blowing for some time from the northward.

The Caspian Sea is about 640 miles in length from north to south, and from 100 to 200 miles broad. In the centre it is deep, but shallow at the sides, and, although it receives the waters of eighty-four streams in addition to the stupendous discharge of the Volga, it has no outlet, and preserves its level solely by evaporation. Conjointly with the Aral, it drains an area 2000 miles in length from the sources of the Volga to those of the Syr, and 1800 miles in breadth from the head-streams of the Koanna in North Russia, to those of the Sefid Rood in Koordistan.

The smaller rivers, the lakes, the mountains, and the deserts of Central Asia, will each be described in connection with the countries or provinces to which they respectively belong.

them Sacæ since that is the name they give to all the Scythians. The Bactrians and the Sacæ had for leader Hystaspes, the son of Darius and of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus. The Arians (of Herat) carried Median bows, but in other respects were equipped like the Bactrians. The Parthians and Chorasmiens, with the Sogdians, the Gandarians, and the Dadicæ, had the Bactrian equipment in all respects. The Caspians were clad in cloaks of skin, and carried the cane bow of their country, and the scymitar.' The Bactrians and the Caspians furnished also horsemen, armed like the foot-soldiers.

From Canon Rawlinson's foot-notes we learn that the Hyrcanians, an Arian race, probably inhabited the lovely and well-wooded valley of Astrabad, watered by the river now known as the Gurgan. The Caspian, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, was called the Hyrcanian Sea by the historians of Alexander, and in the Zendavesta this district appears under the name of Vehrkanā, the Urkanieh of the 13th century. The Parthians dwelt between the Hyrcanians and the Sarangians, along the southern flank of the Elburz mountains, now called Atak, or 'The Skirt.' The country is at present almost a desert, but covered with extensive ruins, attesting its ancient cultivation. The Parthians were of Scythian origin, and escaped destruction by the Aryans no doubt through the natural difficulties of their position. The Chorasmiens, again, were an Aryan people, inhabiting the oasis of Khwarezm, or Khiva,—the Khairizas of the Zendavesta. In Alexander's time they seem to have been independent, and to have been governed by a native ruler, named by the Greeks Pharasmenes, who dispatched a friendly embassy to the 'Macedonian madman.' The Sogdians also came from the Aryan stock. Their country, the Cugdha of the Zendavesta and known to Mohammedan writers as the Vale of Soghd, extended from the Jaxartes to the Oxus, and southward to Bactria. Their capital city Maracanda will

hereafter be mentioned in connection with Alexander. The *Αρείοι* of Herodotus occupied the rich valley of the Heri-Rood, which is designated Hariva in the inscriptions of Darius.

In the Greek legends of the Assyrian era, no nation is more favourably distinguished than that of the Bactrians, whose apocryphal king Oxyartes is described as valiantly holding his own against Ninus, though finally compelled to yield to the superior arms and fortune of Semiramis. It is certain that the Aryans settled in this province at a very early period, and it is not impossible that Bactra may have been the capital of Persia at a time anterior to the reign of Kei Khosroo, or Cyrus the Great, who experienced considerable difficulty in reducing the Bactrians beneath his sway. In the Hindoo legends of the 3rd and 4th centuries before the Christian era, they appear as the Bahlikas, afterwards easily corrupted into Balkh, the modern representative of Bactra.

A less easy task is it to place the Sacæ of Herodotus, unless they lined the banks of the old channel of the Oxus. They have certainly nothing in common with the Sacia of Ptolemy, which rather corresponds with the provinces of Kashgar and Yarkund. Of Turanian origin, they were famous for their valour, and in Alexander's time fought as allies under the banner of Darius. A century later the Sacæ, in conjunction with kindred tribes of Tatars, overthrew the short-lived Greco-Bactrian kingdom, and occupied the entire region between the Aral and the Indus. They even crossed that river, but sustained a signal repulse about B. C. 56. They were subsequently conquered by the Parthians, and finally absorbed by the Sassanides. Of the Caspians it may suffice to say that they were the ancient inhabitants of the provinces now known as Ghilan and Mazanderan; while the Dadicæ, it is suggested, may have been the ancestors of the Tats or Tajeeks, and may have

emigrated across the Hindoo Koosh from their early settlements beside the Gandarians.

The ancients, it may be briefly added, divided central and eastern Asia into Scythia-extra-Imaum and Scythia-intra-Imaum, the latter comprising Khiva, Bokhara, Khokan, Eastern Toorkestan, and Badakhshan. Their idea of Mount Imaus, however, was as imaginative as Baron Humboldt's description of the Bolor range, which is supposed to have been identical with the former. The name is clearly derived from the Sanscrit *Himavat*,—*Latine* 'hiems'—which is still preserved in the modern Himalaya. The Bolor mountains, as designed by Humboldt and Carl Ritter, would form the meridional axis of Central Asia, and from their point of view is correctly enough described in Dr Wm Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, where the Bolor range,—assumed to be the ancient Imaus,—is pronounced to be 'one link of a long series of elevated ranges running, as it were, from south to north, which, with axes parallel to each other, but alternating in their localities, extend from Cape Comorin to the Icy Sea, between the 64th and 75th degrees of longitude, keeping a mean direction of S.S.E. and N.N.W.' Since Humboldt's theory was first propounded, it has been ascertained that his Bolor Dagh is not a chain of mountains, but an extremely elevated plateau, fully 16,000 feet above the level of the sea, intersected by ridges running from east to west, with open stony plains between, broken by gorges and fissures in which both wood and water are found. Mount Imaus was, however, a westerly prolongation of the Hindoo Koosh, or, rather, of the Himalaya.

In the latter half of the 4th century before the Christian era Central Asia, as known to the Greeks, was divided into the three provinces of Margiana, Bactria, and Sogdiana. The first corresponds with Khorassan and the south-eastern portion of the Khanat of Khiva; the second with Badakhshan; and the

third with the Khanat of Bokhara eastward of the Amou. The fertility of Margiana has been the subject of warm eulogies, Strabo affirming that it was no uncommon thing to meet with a vine, whose stock could hardly be clasped by two men with outstretched arms, while clusters of grapes might be gathered two cubits in length. The chief town, since famous as Merv or Merou, was called *Alexandreia* after its great founder, but falling into decay was rebuilt by Antiochus Soter, and named after its restorer. It stood upon the banks of the Margus,—the *Epardus* of Arrian, and now the *Murghab*,—and was finally destroyed towards the close of the last century by Shah Moorad Beg, Khan of Bokhara.\*

Bactria, or Bactriana—the Ninth Satrapy under Carius Hystaspes—was a rich and populous district, bounded on the south by the Paropamisus range, on the east by the Pameer Steppe, on the north by the Oxus, and on the west by a desert separating it from the fertile province of Margiana. The Paropamisus mountains, called by Ptolemy the Paropanisus, were unknown to the Greeks previous to the Asiatic conquests of Alexander the Great, and were then supposed to be a continuation of the Taurus or the Caucasus. They appear to correspond with the modern Hazaret branch of the Himalayas and extend for 400 miles from the site of Herat to the eastward, and are inferior in elevation to the chain that takes its name from its highest peak, the Hindoo Koosh, being covered with snow for no more than four months in the year. They are, in

\* The natural beauties of this once charming district, the scene of Moore's 'Veiled Prophet of Khorasan,' have been fitly celebrated by that poet:—

'In that delightful Province of the Sun,  
The first of Persian lands he shines upon,  
Where all the loveliest children of his beam,  
Flow'rets and fruits, blush over every stream,  
And, fairest of all streams, the Murga roves  
Among Merou's bright palaces and groves.'



truth, not so much a chain as a confused mass of barren and rugged mountains 200 miles across from north to south at the base line. The Paropamisan Alexandria stood at the southern foot of the Bamian Pass, and was intended to secure an unmolested passage into Bactria. In addition to its northern boundary, the Oxus, this district was fertilized by five tributaries of that noble river, and by the Bactrus, now the Dahash, descending from the Paropamisus and passing under the walls of Bactra—the Zariaspa of Strabo and Pliny—but better known by its modern appellation of Balkh.\* The country generally is so graphically described by Quintus Curtius that no apology need be offered for transcribing John Brende's quaint translation of the passage:—

'The nature of the soyle of whiche countrey is divers and of sundrye kindes. Some place is plentiful of woode and vines, and aboundaunte of pleasaunte fruite, the grounde fatte, well watered, and full of springes. Those partes which be most temperate are sowed with corne, and the rest be reserved for fedyng of beastes. But the greater part of the countrey is couered ouer with baraine sandes and withered up for want of moisture, nourishing neither man, nor bringinge forth fruite. But with certaine windes that come from the sea of Ponte (the Caspian), the sand in the plaines is blowen together in heapes, which seme a farre of like great hilles, wherby the accustomed wayes be damned, so that no signe of them can appere. Therefore such as do passe those plaines use to observe the starres in the night as thei do that sayle the seas, and by the course of them direct their journey. The nightes for the more parte be brighter than the dayes, wherfore in the daye time the countrey is wild and unpassible, when they can neither finde any tracte

\* Bactria is said to be a corruption of Bakhtiar, an old Persian word signifying 'The East,' just as the meaning of Khorassan is 'The Region of the Sun.'

nor waye to go in, nor marke or signe wherby to passe, the starres beyng hidden by the miste. If the same winde chaunce to come duryng the time that men be passyng, it overwhelm-eth them with sande. Where the countrey is temperate, it bringeth forth great plenty both of men and horse, so that the Bactrians may make 30,000 horsemen.'

Sir Alexander Burnes bears testimony to the perfect fidelity of this picture even at the present day, especially as regards the desert to the north-west and the mode of travelling therein. In addition to Bactra or Zariaspa, mention is made of a town called Darapsa, Adraspa, or Drapsaca, the first place taken by Alexander after crossing the mountains. 'The Bactrians,' says Archdeacon Williams, 'held a middle place between the Persians and Scythians, partaking more of the polished manners of the former than of the rudeness of the latter.' They were, nevertheless, accused of throwing out the bodies of their dying relatives into the streets to be devoured by dogs, thence called 'entombers,' or 'buriers of the dead'—a practice that was abolished by Alexander. Professor Wilson, however, was disposed to trace this legend to the Zoroastrian custom of exposing dead bodies in the Towers of Silence, to the ordinary process of decomposition accelerated by the foul birds of prey.

In Grecian dramatic poetry this region was the scene of the wanderings of Bacchus. The pages of historic romance tell how Ninus sat down before Bactra with an immense army, and only succeeded when reinforced by Semiramis. In the reign of Sardanapalus the Bactrians broke out into a formidable revolt, but in that of Arbaces they largely contributed to the reduction of Nineveh. Against the great Cyrus they waged equal war, until his union with the daughter of Astyages, when they freely tendered their submission. In the army of Xerxes, as we have seen, they were arrayed beside the Sacæ and the Caspii, and are represented as wearing a sort of Median head-

dress, and as being armed with bows and arrows, and short spears. Their cavalry were at all times highly esteemed, and honourably distinguished themselves in the last days of the Persian Empire.

The Sogdiani, like the Bactrians, were accused of handing over to canine 'entombers' the mortal remains of their friends and kinsfolk, and probably under the same circumstances. Their country extended from the Oxus to the Jaxartes, which divided them from the Massagetæ, who occupied the vast steppe extending to the Altai Mountains. Their most valued river was that called by the Greeks Polytimetus, the 'Very Precious' or 'Much Honoured,' now known as the Zarafshan, or 'gold-scattering' river of Samarkand, which flows past Bokhara, and is finally lost in the Dughiz or Karakul Lake, to the S. S. E. of the latter city. In those days this productive region appears to have been overgrown with forests abounding in wild beasts and in game of all kinds. At Bazarïa, for instance—perhaps the modern Bokhara—we read of a royal park, or 'paradise,' that had not been disturbed for four generations, in which 4000 animals were slain by Alexander and his officers. Here, it is said, Alexander overcame a lion in single fight, extorting from the Spartan envoy, who witnessed the rash deed, the hearty exclamation: 'Bravo, Alexander! well hast thou won the prize of royalty from the king of the woods.' The principal city was Maracanda, though the names of several other towns are preserved, such as Cyropolis, Ghaza, Marginia, Nautakn (near Karshi), Alexandria Ultima (near Khojend), and Oxinna. In Maracanda, however, stood the palace of the Sogdian ruler, and it was here that Alexander murdered his own foster-brother, Clitus. The *locæ deserta Sogdianorum* seem to have been no less terrible than those of the Bactriani, judging from the experiences of the flying column commanded by Alexander in person. John Brende shall again be our interpreter:—

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‘In the wante of water (that hath bene declared before) desperation moved them to thirst before they had desire to drinke. For by the space of 1111 C furlonges they founde no water at all. The vapoure of the Sunne, beyng in the somner season, did so burne the sande that when it began to waxe hote it starred all thinges as it had bene with a continuall fire. And then the lyght somewhat obscured by a mist that rose out of the arth by the immoderate heate, caused the playnes to haue appearaunce of a maine Sea. Their iourney in the nyght seemed tollerable, because their bodyes were somewhat refreshed with the dewe and the coolde of the mornynge. But when the daye came and the heate rose, then the drought drying up all ye natural humoures, both their mouthes and their bowels were enflamed for heate. Then their hartes failed and their bodies fainted, beyng in case that thei could neither stand styl, nor passe forwardes. A few that were taught by suche as knew the countrey, had gotten water whiche refreshed them somewhat, but as the heate encreased, so their desire grewe againe to drinke.’

After subduing Seistan and Afghanistan without much difficulty except such as arose from the severity of the climate, Alexander appears to have crossed over into Bactria by the Khawak Pass, at an altitude of 13,200 feet above the sea, towards the close of the winter 330—329 B. C. The passage over the mountains occupied the best part of a fortnight, nor was it until the fifteenth day that his starved and exhausted army came in sight of Adraspa. Bactria was speedily overrun, but terrible sufferings were endured in traversing the burning and waterless desert that approaches almost to the very bank of the Oxus. As all the boats within a considerable distance had been destroyed by Bessus, the river was crossed by means of inflated skins, and shortly afterwards the murderer of Darius was overtaken and captured by Ptolemy. Stript naked,

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loaded with chains, and his neck encircled by an iron collar, the traitor was placed in a conspicuous position, and exposed to the scorn and derision of the entire army as it defiled past him. He was then scourged and sent to Bactria, whence he was subsequently conveyed into Persia and delivered into the hands of the mother of Darius. By her orders, according to Plutarch, four trees were bent down by main force, to each of which he was attached by a limb. Suddenly the trees were released, and springing back to their natural positions tore the wretched man into shapeless fragments.\*

From the Oxus Alexander marched straight on to Maracanda, or near the site of the modern Samarkand. No very serious resistance was offered by the Sogdians, though the Macedonian detachments were much harassed by desultory attacks. The most difficult operations were the reduction of Cyropolis on the Jaxartes, and the storming of an almost inaccessible rock where Alexander himself was severely wounded by an arrow. Within the space of three weeks the town of Alexandria Ultima was built at no great distance from Khojend, to mark the limit of the Macedonian conquests in that direction. The Jaxartes also was crossed, and an idle victory gained over the nomad Scythians, in which bootless expedition his soldiers suffered greatly from thirst, and the king himself was attacked with illness. A Macedonian brigade having in the mean while been cut to pieces in Sogdiana by Spitamenes, Alexander overran the fertile valley of the Polytimetus—the Kohik, or Zarafshan, of later times—and put to the sword all who came within reach of his vengeance. He then re-crossed the Oxus and wintered at Zariaspa, another name for Bactra or Balkh.

The submission of the Sogdians, however, proved to be

\* By other writers, however, Bessus is said to have been nailed to a cross and pierced with arrows, at Ecbatana.



merely nominal, for no sooner had he quitted their territory than they broke out into open revolt. The greater part of the following year—B. C. 328—was consequently spent in repeating the work of the preceding one, and it was now that occurred the slaughter of the wild animals in the Royal Chace of Bazaria. This year, too, was marked by that horrible debauch at Maracanda, at which Alexander slew with his own hand his foster-brother Clitus, who had saved his life at the Battle of the Granicus by cutting off with one sweep of his sword the upraised arm of Spithridates. During the early part of the winter of 328 B. C. the Macedonian army rested from its labours at Nautaka. The next feat of arms, in the spring of B. C. 327, was the reduction of the well-nigh impregnable fort which Archdeacon Williams places in Bactria, while Bishop Thirlwall alights upon it in Sogdiana, and whose chief peril to the conqueror lay in the beauty of Roxana, daughter of the Bactrian chief Oxyartes, 'said to have been, with the exception of the wife of Darius, the loveliest woman seen by the Macedonians during their Asiatic expedition.'

The spring was spent chiefly at Bactria, where Alexander united himself in marriage to Roxana, greatly to the disgust of his Greek soldiery. The intoxicating influences of love, wine, and success without a check, here impelled the king to excesses bordering upon madness. Callisthenes, the nephew of Aristotle, a somewhat impracticable republican—or 'philosopher,' as he would have preferred to be called—having ostentatiously refused to adopt the Persian mode of prostration, inevitably incurred the displeasure of Alexander, too little used to opposition to make allowances for the feelings of others. About the same time Hermolaus, one of the royal pages, presumed to transfix with a javelin a wild boar that had turned upon the king, and for his officious loyalty was deprived of his horse and scourged. Thirsting for revenge, Hermolaus conspired with some of his

brother pages, all of them youths of the best families of Greece, to slay Alexander when he retired to rest. The king, however, escaped that danger by sitting up all night carousing, and on the morrow one of the conspirators, as usual in such cases, betrayed his accomplices. Hermolaus and his friends were put to the torture, but nobly refused to implicate others in their guilt, and were stoned to death. As the intimate friend of Hermolaus, Callisthenes also was subjected to torture, and afterwards hanged, though no proof had been obtained of his complicity.

In the summer of 327 B.C. Alexander again crossed the mountains, taking with him 30,000 recruits from Bactria and Sogdiana, and marched to the conquest of the Punjab, leaving Amyntas at Bactra with a reserve of 10,000 foot, and 3,500 horse. In Sogdiana he had built eight towns, each of which was a fortified post, but his power over that province was confined to the immediate vicinity of those garrisons. The moral effects of his conquests, however, were more extensive and durable, and have been thus succinctly summed up:—‘Those nations had not been civilized, had they not been vanquished by Alexander. He taught marriage to the Hyrcanians, and agriculture to the Arachosii; he instructed the Sogdians to maintain, and not to kill, their parents; the Persians to respect, and not to marry, their mothers; the Scythians to bury, and not to eat, their dead.’

The name of the great Sikunder is still revered in the distant East, and the chiefs of the petty principalities to the north of the Hindoo Koosh affect to claim descent from the Macedonian conqueror, while the people of Kafiristan pride themselves on the exploits of their Grecian ancestors—though, apparently, with little reason. A title commonly bestowed upon Alexander by Arab writers is that of Sikunder Zulkarnain, or Dhulkarnain, that is, the two-horned, in allusion to his pretensions as the son of Jupiter Ammon, represented on his coins by the ram’s horns

affixed to his head. Colonel Yule hence derives the origin of the old English word 'dulcarnon,' synonymous with dilemma, and which is still used, he says, in that sense in some parts of England. In Chaucer's poem of 'Troilus and Cresside,' it occurs in the following passage :

'But whether that ye dwell, or for him go,  
I am till God me better minde sende,  
At dulcarnon, right at my wittes end.'

The era of the Seleucidæ is also called by the Arab historians the Taarish-dhulkarnain, but less with reference to Alexander's horns than to the strength of Seleucus Nicator, of whom it was alleged that he could stop a bull in full career by seizing him by the horns.

On the death of Alexander, B. C. 321, Parthia and Hyrcania fell to Phrataphernes, Bactria and Sogdiana to Philip, but by the year 305 B. C. Seleucus had brought beneath his sway, Media, Assyria, Persia, Hyrcania, Bactria, and all the country eastward as far as the Indus. Some sixty years later, or B. C. 256, the Greco-Bactrian kingdom was established, which flourished for nearly one hundred years, until it was overthrown by an irruption of the Scythians, who were, in their turn, expelled by the Parthians, and finally settled in a district called after them, Sacasténé by the Greeks and Sakasthan by the Indians, and which corresponds with the Drangiana of Alexander's time, and the Seistan of our own.

The Parthian kingdom was virtually founded by Arsaces about the same time that Theodotus achieved the independence of Bactriana, though it was not recognized by Antiochus the Great until about 208 B. C. The dynasty of Arsaces maintained their position for nearly 480 years. Mithridates, the sixth monarch of that race, ruled from the Euphrates to the Indus; while Orodes, the eleventh king, destroyed Crassus and his



legions.\* But the thirtieth sovereign, Artabanes IV., became involved in war with the Roman emperor Macrinus, and was so crippled in his resources that, A. D. 226, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death by a Persian chief named Ardesheer (Artaxerxes), whose descendants were called Sassanides from his immediate ancestor Sassan, fabled to be the son of Isfundear (Xerxes) the son of Gushtasp (Darius Hystaspes). This successful adventurer revived the Magian religion, and terminated the glories of the Parthian name. He was also the first to assume the title of Shah-in-Shah, or King of kings, a titular distinction claimed by his successors on the throne of Persia down to our own times.

Before proceeding to briefly sketch the chief incidents belonging to the history of the Sassanides so far as it is connected with that of Central Asia, it may be worth while to say a few words in explanation of the Scythian irruption which so abruptly terminated the existence of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. According to Colonel Yule, about the middle of the 2nd century before the Christian era, the Hiongnu Scythians, dwelling on the northern frontier of China, dispossessed of their lands the Yuechi, a Tibetan race lying a little to the southwest. The latter migrated to the Ili, and dislodged the Sze; but a few years later the Usoon were also driven by the Hiongnu to the banks of the Ili, and both the Yuechi and the Sze were hurled, as it were, upon Sogdiana, whence they overflowed to the foot of the Afghan mountains, which, indeed, they finally crossed in their onward progress. From that date the whole of Central Asia, as that phrase is under-

\* 'The frontier,' says Sir John Malcolm, 'which the kingdom of Parthia presented to the Roman Empire, extended from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. It consists of lofty and barren mountains, of rapid and broad streams, and of wide-spreading deserts. In whatever direction the legions of Rome advanced, the country was laid waste.'

stood in common parlance, remained for several centuries under Scytho-Chinese domination, until Khosroo Nousheerwan overran Transoxiana to the remote mountainous parts of Ferghana or Khokan.

Towards the latter part of the 6th century the Tou-Kioue or Toorks supplanted the Chinese, better known as the Haiathalah (Ephthalites, or White Huns), who became broken up into twenty-seven small States recognizing the supremacy of the Toorkish Khakan.

To this group of *quasi*-independent principalities Hiouen Tsang gave the collective name of Tou-ho-lo, or Tokhara, which survived in the Mohammedan Tokharistan as late as the 13th century. Under the Haiathalah the religion of Zoroaster had given way to that of Buddha, and the celebrated Buddhist Pilgrim just named mentions colossal images and convents at Termedh, Khulm, Balkh, and Bamian.\*

The Sassanian dynasty commenced A.D. 226 with Ardesheer Babigan—that is, the son of Babec,—whose son and successor Shahpoor, the Sapor of Greek historians, took prisoner the Emperor Valerian, and founded the city of Nishapoor in Khorassan near the famous Turquoise mines. The descendants of this monarch figure largely in the annals of the Byzantine Empire, though under names slightly corrupted, as Hormisdas for Hormuz, Varanes for Baharam, Isdigertes for Yezdijerd, Peroses for Feroze, and Cabades for Kobad. In the reign of the third Hormuz the region comprised between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, between the Caspian Sea and China, changed its old name

\* The Toorks are said to be descended from the Hiongnu, or Huns, whose aggressiveness towards their less turbulent neighbours caused the overthrow of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. They have been described as a round-headed, flat-nosed people, with long, narrow, oblique eyes, prominent cheekbones, thick lips, huge ears, and very white and sound teeth: in other words, as exhibiting the Mongolian type of features.

of Turan the that of Toorkistan. The former appellation is derived by Persian romance-writers from Toor the son of Feridoun, a prince of the mythical Peishdadian dynasty which commenced with Kiumars, Noah's grandson, who held his court at Babel.

The sixteenth monarch of the Sassanian line, Feroze or Feroces, twice waged war upon the Toorks by whose assistance he had deformed and murdered his elder brother Hormuz. In his first campaign he lost his army in the desert into which it had been led by the patriotic treachery of a Toorkish chief, who had imitated, no doubt unconsciously, the example of Zopyrus. Feroze was permitted to return to his own territories on pledging his royal word to live in peace for the future with his magnanimous neighbour. He proved false, however, to his pledged honour, and shortly afterwards re-crossed the Oxus with a formidable army. On this occasion the Toorks anticipated the stratagem employed by Bruce at Bannockburn, and in their rear excavated a broad deep trench, concealed beneath grass and shrubs, with a few pathways of solid earth left as bridges. Across these the Toorks fled in seeming panic on the approach of the Persians, who rushed forward, as they supposed, to an assured victory and were precipitated into the trench, where Feroze and many thousands of his troops were easily slaughtered.

His son Kobad became a disciple of the false prophet Mazdak, who preached community of wives and property, and the most advanced socialistic doctrines. For this he was deposed by his nobles and thrown into prison, but, escaping to the Toorks, was by them replaced on the throne. Kobad, or Cabades, subsequently waged successful war against the Emperor Anastasius, and built the town of Gunjah in Georgia, now a Russian fort. 'What a change,' Sir John Malcolm exclaims, 'has the lapse of some centuries produced. The Empire of Persia,

the great rival of the Romans, now appears unable to resist the tide of civilization and of conquest which comes on her, not from the fountain of early knowledge, the East, or the learned West, but from the frozen regions of the North; from a land unknown to her historians, long inhabited by wretched and savage tribes of ignorant barbarians, who,—from a combination of powerful causes, the genius of some of their sovereigns, the example of Southern Europe, and the influence of a religion which has everywhere improved the condition of mankind,—have overcome all those natural obstacles which opposed their rise, and started, as by magic, into great and imperial power.'

Kobad's son, the great Nousheerwan, effectually stopped the spread of socialism by sending its apostle, Mazdak, to execution, and by dealing very summarily with his followers. This prince was impressed with the value of learning, and afforded generous encouragement to men of letters. In his reign Pilpay's Fables were first translated into the Persian language, through which they became known to the nations of Europe. In his wars with Justinian, Nousheerwan gained considerable successes until the genius of Belisarius turned the tide of victory. The whole of Transoxiana was annexed to Persia, and order prevailed to the extreme frontiers of Bokhara. Few despots have exhibited a nobler disposition than this illustrious monarch, and it is written that Mohammed pronounced himself fortunate in being born in the reign of so just a prince.

Under his son Hormuz III. the Toorks endeavoured to recover their independence, and even invaded the Persian territories, but were signally overthrown, and their Khakhan, being taken prisoner, was deprived of sight and then strangled by the bowstring.

The next king of this line, Khosroo Purveez,—the Chosroes of the Greeks,—underwent both extremes of fortune. He commenced his reign by expelling the usurper Baharam-Choubeen

and crossing him across the Oxus. His next exploit was the capture of Samarkand, after which he gave himself up to luxury and dissipation. Disappointed in his predication of sinners, he turned to him a letter denouncing him for abandoning his false religion and become a convert to Islam. The stronger massive Khwarezmian empire was in, and being the fragments into the Karakum. He went with less spirit, however, in his contest with Kharosime, making it but a ignominious flight. He end was numerous. He was cast into prison and murdered by the orders of the son of the Sultan of Samarkand, A.D. 1028.

After the death of Khwarezm the empire of Persia was occupied by a rapid succession of weak rulers, under whom general anarchy prevailed throughout the land. The choice of the ruler is last fell upon Yezdigerd, who is supposed to have been a grandson of Khwarezm Purvash, but who was simply a puppet in Sami hands. He was the last of the Sassanides. In his reign the land of Arab conquest swept across the mountains of Persia and the deserts and wastes of Central Asia. The province of Khwarezm was promised by Khalid Caliph to whomsoever should bring it under the true faith. In the numerous partravelling of Caliph, the condition was accepted: the prize was deferred; the standard of Mohammed was planted on the walls of Herat, Merv, and Balch; and the successful leader neither halted nor rested till his foaming cavalry had tasted the waters of the Oxus.

The unhappy Yezdigerd fled after the decisive battle of Ctesiphon to Pershiana, where sympathy was expressed for misfortunes that beokened a common danger. 'The king of Samarcand, with the Turkish tribes of Sogdiana and Scythia, were moved by the lamentations and promises of the fallen monarch; and he solicited, by a suppliant embassy, the more solid and powerful friendship of the Emperor of China. The virtuous Taichang, the first of the dynasty of Tang, may be justly com-

pared with the Antonines of Rome: his people enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace; and his dominion was acknowledged by forty-four hordes of the barbarians of Tartary. His last garrisons of Cashgar and Khoten maintained a frequent intercourse with their neighbours of the Jaxartes and Oxus; a recent colony of Persians had introduced into China the astronomy of the Magi; and Tait song might be alarmed by the rapid progress and dangerous vicinity of the Arabs.'

Yezdijerd, however, was too impatient to await the arrival of his Chinese auxiliaries, and retraced his steps to Merv at the head of a tumultuous body of Toorks. It is not an easy task to unravel the confused accounts that have reached us of the tragic events that followed. It is only apparent that the last of the Sassanides was compelled to flee for his life from his own barbarous allies, and was put to death, while he slept, by a miller, for the sake of his armour. His body was flung into the mill dam, whence it was extracted a few days later by the penitent citizens of Merv, and sent to Istakhar to be interred in the royal burying-place, while the covetous miller underwent the fate he had inflicted upon his unconscious and confiding victim. The Magian religion was now extinguished throughout Persia, where it had flourished for twelve centuries, and is now preserved only in the wealthy community of the Parsees, and in a few scattered districts of the ancient Iran.

Feroze, the son of Yezdijerd, was content to lead a life of inglorious security as Captain of the body-guard of the Emperor of China; and his son, also, after a faint and fruitless attempt to recover his hereditary dominions, ended his days as a pensioner of that court. Yezdijerd's two daughters married, the one Hassan, the son of Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, and the other Mohammed, the son of Aboubekr, the father of Ayesha, while the daughter of Feroze became the wife of the Khalif

Walid, and thus 'the race of the caliphs and imams was ennobled by the blood of their royal mothers.'

The Sassanian dynasty reigned over Persia for 415 years, but their power extended beyond the Oxus under the ablest princes of the race, and Sir John Malcolm asserts that 'their memory is still cherished by a nation whose ancient glory is associated with the names of Ardisheer, Shahpoor, and Nou-sheerwan.' Be that as it may, although the final victory of the Arabs was achieved at Nehavund, A.D. 651, or in the year of the Hijra 28, it was not until A.D. 706 that Transoxiana, or, as it then came to be called, Mawaralnahr, was finally subdued by Walid's lieutenant Kotaiba Ibn Moslem, or Catibah, 'the camel-driver,' who imposed upon the infidels a tribute of two millions of pieces of gold, broke or burnt their idols, delivered a sermon in the mosque of Khwarezm or Khiva, drove the Toorkish hordes to the desert, and overawed the Chinese.

'To their (the victorious Arabs) industry, the prosperity of the province, the Sogdiana of the ancients, may in a great measure be ascribed, but the advantages of the soil and climate had been understood and cultivated since the reign of the Macedonian kings. Before the invasion of the Saracens, Carizme, Bochara, and Samarcand were rich and populous under the yoke of the shepherds of the North. These cities were surrounded with a double wall; and the exterior fortification, of a larger circumference, enclosed the fields and gardens of the adjacent district. The mutual wants of India and Europe were supplied by the diligence of the Sogdian merchants, and the inestimable art of transforming linen into paper has been diffused from the manufacture of Samarcand over the western world.'

There is, doubtless, some degree of truth in this ornate picture, but it is strange that so keen a critic as Gibbon did not see in the necessity of an 'exterior fortification' irresistible

evidence of the unsettled state of the country, and of the general insecurity of life and property. That double line of circumvallation has been noticed by modern travellers, but no one has ventured to cite the fact as a proof of order and prosperity. The manufacture of linen paper, it may be added, was not introduced into Samarkand from China until the middle of the seventh century, or about twenty-five years before Saad, the Mussulman Governor of Khorassan, made his entry into that city, and it had long before been in use among the Persians. The 'shepherds of the north' were not likely to place a high value upon the possession of an 'inestimable art,' which had nothing to do with the rearing of sheep or horses. It was certainly through the Arabs that paper made from linen first found its way into Europe from the far East.

At the same time it sufficiently appears from Colonel Yule's exceedingly interesting book on 'Cathay and the Way Thither,' that in the sixth century the Toorkish Court had attained to a high degree of semi-barbarous magnificence. That learned and accomplished geographer quotes a fragment of Menander Protector, in which it is related how the Toorks sent an embassy to the Emperor Justinian at Byzantium. The Sogdians had previously prevailed upon Dizabulus, the great Khan of the Toorks, who had won their country from the Ephthalites or White Huns, to endeavour to obtain permission from Nousheerwan, King of Persia, to carry their silken goods into his territories, as to a new market. That monarch, however, was advised by his counsellors that 'it would be highly inexpedient for the Persians to enter into friendly relations with the Turks, for the whole race of the Scythians was not to be trusted.' Poison was consequently administered to the unfortunate envoys, and in most instances with fatal effect, 'whilst the king caused it to be whispered about among the Persians that the Turkish ambassadors had died of the suffocating dry heat of the Persian



climate; for their own country was subject to frequent falls of snow, and they could not exist except in a cold climate.' The Khan was not deceived, but was compelled to dissemble his indignation, and to content himself with despatching to Byzantium the chief man among the Sogdians, named Maniach, in company with an envoy from his own court, in order to 'cultivate the friendship of the Romans, and to transfer the sale of silk to them, seeing also that they consumed it more largely than any other people. . . And thus it was that the nation of the Turks became friends with the Romans.'

These friendly overtures were well received, and a return embassy under Zemarchus was despatched by the Emperor Justinian to the Toorks, 'who were anciently called Sacæ.' On the arrival of the Byzantine ambassadors in Sogdiana, they were presented with some specimens of iron from the Sogdian mines, which they appear to have regarded as a piece of brag on the part of the barbarians. Colonel Yule, however, suggests that they were simply presented with the bar, or lump, of iron, annually forged by the Toorks in memory of their original settlement on the Altai Mountains, where they worked as smiths and armourers in the service of the Khan of the Geugen. Zemarchus, his suite and baggage, were then purified from all evil intents by passing between two fires, and at last reached the camp of Dizabulus pitched in a valley beyond the Jaxartes, perhaps at Ming Bulak, or, the Thousand Springs; though Sir Henry Rawlinson is probably more correct in placing the Khakhan's encampment at the foot of the Ak-tagh, or White Mountains, to the north of Samarkand.

The envoys were at once conducted to the Khakhan's tent, in which they found him 'seated on a golden chair with two wheels, which could be drawn by one horse when required.' The audience being over, they were invited to a feast, and spent the rest of the day convivially, in a tent that 'was

furnished with silken hangings of various colours artfully wrought. They were supplied with wine, not pressed from the grape like ours, for their country does not produce the vine, nor is it customary among them to use grape wine, but what they got to drink was some other kind of barbarian liquor. . . Next day again they assembled in another pavilion, adorned in like manner with rich hangings of silk, in which figures of different kinds were wrought. Dizabulus was seated on a couch that was all of gold, and in the middle of the pavilion were drinking vessels, and flagons, and great jars, all of gold. So they engaged in another drinking match, talking and listening to such purpose as people do in their drink, and then separated. The following day there was another bout in a pavilion supported by wooden posts covered with gold, and in which there was a gilded throne resting on four golden peacocks. In front of the place of meeting there was a great array of waggons in which there was a huge quantity of silver articles, consisting of plates and dishes, besides numerous figures of animals in silver, in no respect inferior to our own. To such a pitch has attained the luxury of the Toorkish sovereign.'

To foreign artisans, however, rather than to his own may be fairly attributable the beauty of his 'silver articles,' the spoils of plundered cities. On their homeward journey, Justinian's envoys are said to have reached 'the Oech,' or Oxus, and then 'the great and wide lagoon,' evidently the Aral. Crossing the Ust Urt they at last came to the Volga, and finally took ship at Trapezus, or Trebizond, for Byzantium. Sir Henry Rawlinson, it may be remarked, maintains that Zemarchus passed over the bed of the Aral, without being aware that it was a sea, and is of opinion that the ambassador took nearly a bee line from the Toorkish encampment to the Volga. But in that case, how came he to sight the Oech, or Oxus?

## CHAPTER III.

MAWARALNAHR IN THE 10TH CENTURY — BOKHARA — SAMARKAND —  
 KHWAREZM—THE GHUZ—IBN MOHALHAL'S TRAVELS—THE SAMANIDES—  
 THE GHUZNEEVIDES—THE SELJOOK DYNASTY—ALP ARSLAN—MALEK  
 SHAH—SANJAR—KINGDOM OF KHWAREZM—CONQUEST OF MAWARALNAHR  
 BY THE MOGHULS—JELAL-OD-DEEN.

ALTHOUGH the Moslem supremacy was established by Kotaiba over the whole of Mawaralnahr, or the region 'beyond the river' (Oxus), in the first decade of the eighth century, the small Chinese States grouped together as Tokhara, or Tokharistan, continued for many years afterwards to send envoys to Singanfu in token of their faithful allegiance, and it was not until A. D. 760 that tribute was paid to the Khalif by the petty principalities in the valleys of the upper Oxus.

The condition of Mawaralnahr in the tenth century is depicted by the Arab traveller Ibn Haukal—as translated by Sir William Ouseley—in the most glowing colours. The inhabitants are represented as 'people of probity and virtue, averse from evil and fond of peace.' Such was the productiveness of the soil that every year enough corn was laid up to compensate for deficient harvests in 'the other regions.'

'Every kind of fruit and meat,' writes the enthusiastic wanderer, 'abounds there; and the water is most delicious. The cattle are excellent; the sheep from Turkestan, Ghaznien, and Samarcand, are highly esteemed in all places. Mawaralnahr affords raw silk, wool, and (goats') hair in great quantities. Its

mines yield silver and tin, or lead, abundantly ; and they are better than the other mines, except those of silver at Penjhir ; but Maweralnahr affords the best copper and quicksilver, and other similar productions of mines ; and the mines of sal ammoniac (used in tinning and soldering) in all Khorasan (*sic*) are there. Like the paper made at Samarcand, there is not any to be found elsewhere. So abundant are the fruits of Soghd and Astersheineh and Ferghanah and Chaje (or Shash) that they are given to the cattle as food. Musk is brought from Tibet, and sent to all parts. Fox-skins, sable, and ermine-skins, are all to be found at the bazaars of Maweralnahr. Such is the generosity and liberality of the inhabitants, that no one turns aside from the rites of hospitality ; so that a person contemplating them in this light would imagine that all the families in the land were but one house . . . You cannot see any town, or stage, or even desert, in Maweralnahr, without a convenient inn, or stage-house, for the accommodation of travellers, with everything necessary. I have heard that there are above 2000 *robats*, or inns, in Maweralnahr, where as many persons as may arrive shall find sufficient forage for their beasts and meat for themselves.'

Ibn Haukal mentions also a palace in the valley of Soghd, the doors of which were fastened back to the wall with nails, and had been so for upwards of a hundred years, to allow strangers to enter at all hours of the day or night. He had heard, too, he says, that in Maweralnahr there were 300,000 Kulabs, each furnishing one horse and one foot soldier, 'and the absence of these men when they go forth is not felt, or is not perceptible, in the country.' And though the people were so well-to-do, many farmers possessing from one to five hundred head of cattle, they were remarkable for their docility and orderly conduct. 'At all time the Turk soldiers had the precedence of every other race, and the Khalifs always chose them on account

of their excellent services, their obedient disposition, their bravery, and their fidelity.'

'In all the regions of the earth,' continues our traveller, 'there is not a more flourishing or a more delightful country than this, especially the district of Bokhara. If a person stand on the Kohendiz (or ancient castle) of Bokhara, and cast his eyes around, he shall not see anything but beautiful green and luxuriant verdure on every side of the country; so that he would imagine the green of the earth and the azure of the heavens were united: and as there are green fields in every quarter, so there are villas interspersed among the green fields. And in all Khorasan and Maweralnahr there are not any people more long-lived than those of Bokhara. It is said that in all the world there is not any place more delightful (or salubrious) than these three: one, the Soghd of Samarcand; another, the Rud Aileh; and the third, the Ghouteh of Damascus.'

For his part, Ibn Haukal gives the preference to the first of the three, which 'for eight days' journey is all delightful country, affording fine prospects, and full of gardens, and orchards, and villages, corn-fields, and villas, and running streams, reservoirs and fountains, both on the right hand and on the left. You pass from corn-fields into rich meadows and pasture lands; and the Soghd is far more healthy than the Rud Aileh, or the Ghouteh of Dameshk; and the fruits of Soghd are the finest in the world. Among the hills and palaces flow running streams, gliding between the trees. In Ferghanah and Chaje (or Shash), in the mountains between Ferghanah and Turkestan, there are all kinds of fruits and herbs and flowers, and various species of the violet; all these it is lawful for any one who passes by, to pull and gather. In Siroushteh there are flowers of an uncommon species.'

Descending to details, Ibn Haukal informs us that 'Bokhara is called Bounheket: it is situated on a plain; the houses are of

wood, and it abounds in villas and gardens and orchards; and the villages are as close to one another as the groves and gardens, extending for near 12 farsang by 12 farsang: all about this space is a wall, and within it the people dwell winter and summer; and there is not to be seen one spot uncultivated, or in decay. Outside this there is another wall, with a small town and a castle, in which the Samanian family, who were governors of Khorasan, resided. This kohendiz, or castle, has ramparts, a mosque, and bazaar. In all Maweralnahr, or Khorasan, there is not any place more populous and flourishing than Bokhara. The river of Soghd runs through the midst of it, and passes on to the mills and meadows, and the borders of Beikend: and much of it falls into a pond, or pool, near Beikend, at a place called Sam Kous.'

In the inner wall there were seven gates, in the outer twelve. In all directions flowed canals of irrigation derived from the main stream, on one of which were situated 'near 2000 villas and gardens, exclusive of corn-fields and meadows.' 'There is not any hill or desert; all is laid out in castles, villas, gardens, cornfields, and orchards. The wood which they use for fuel is brought from their gardens, and they burn also reeds and rushes. The grounds of Bokhara and of Soghd are all in the vicinity of water; whence it happens that their trees do not arrive at any considerable height; but the fruits of Bokhara are more excellent than the fruits of any part of Mawaralnahr.' There was a saying that never had the coffin, or bier, of a prince been brought out of the kohendiz of Bokhara, and that no one who was once confined within those walls was ever seen again.

Scarcely less ecstatic is Ibn Haukal's description of Samarkand, situated on the south side of the Kohik or Zarafshan. It boasted of a castle, of spacious suburbs, and of extensive fortifications, pierced for four gates. The city was surrounded with a deep ditch, and rivulets of water flowed through the streets

very Ghuz upon whom they now wreaked such terrible vengeance, and who were actually Toorkomans.

This Aboo Doolif Misr Ibn Mohalhal, says Colonel Yule, was at the Court of Nasri or Nusser Bin Ahmed Bin Ismail, the third of the Samanides, and was present at the audience accorded to the ambassadors who were sent from China to Bokhara to offer the hand of a Chinese Princess to Nasri's son and successor, Ameer Noah. Ibn Mohalhal accompanied the embassy on its return to China about the middle of the 10th century, and wrote a narrative of his travels, which may still be consulted with interest and advantage.

After quitting the territory of the Ghuz, he came to that of the Taghazghaz, a powerful Toorkee tribe occupying the district afterwards known as Uigur, who eat flesh both raw and cooked, and wore woollen and cotton garments. No temples were seen in this land, the inhabitants of which paid great attention to their horses. They had a stone which had the virtue of stopping bleeding at the nose. When a rainbow appeared, they held high festival—rejoicing, no doubt, in any sign of moisture. In praying, they turned to the west. Their standards were black. On the summit of the king's castle was erected a round structure, gilded all over, and large enough to contain a hundred men. To traverse this country was the work of twenty days, during which travellers went in fear of their lives.

Next to the Taghazghaz where the Khirkiz, who possessed temples and retained so much of the Magian superstitions that they never willingly extinguished a light. In prayer they looked to the south, and are described as worshipping the planets Saturn and Venus, and as prophesying by Mars. Musk in small quantities was procurable, but the most remarkable product of the country was a stone that shone in the dark, and was consequently used as a lamp. The Khirkiz kept three festivals in the year; their standards were of a green colour;

and their civilization so far advanced that they were possessed of a written character. So great was their veneration for royalty, that no one under forty years of age was permitted to sit down in the king's presence.

The nearest neighbours of the Khirkiz on the other side were the Hazlakh, a nation of gamblers, who would stake mother, wife, and daughter on the chance of a throw. Chastity was by no means conspicuous among the female portion of the community, whose attentions to strangers appear to have exceeded the most extravagant eccentricities of hospitality. It is suggested by Colonel Yule that Ibn Mohalhal's Hazlakh were probably identical with the Kharlikhs, a potent tribe dwelling to the north of Ferghana, or Khokan. Then he crossed the frontiers of the valiant Khathlakh, who married their own sisters, and consigned adulterers to the flames. The wife was endowed with the entire property of her husband, who had, besides, to win her by one year's servitude to her father. Neither the king nor widows could venture upon matrimony. The usage of blood money prevailed among them, and mitigated feelings of vindictiveness.

The Khatiyān—doubtless the people of Khotan—are next described, whose refinement was so great that they could eat none but cooked meat. They had no king and were a law unto themselves. Dyed garments were repulsive to their taste. They had musk, and bezoar, and a stone that cured snake bites.

The last tribe before reaching the confines of China were the Bahi (the Bai, dwelling between Aksu and Kucha), whose country is called by Marco Polo 'the province of Pein,' a fertile region abounding with palms and vines. The capital city was large and populous, and its citizens were of many creeds, Jews, Christians, Mohammedans, Hindoos, and Magians. Indigo was successfully cultivated, but the rarest objects were a



green stone that was good for weak eyes, and a red stone that acted beneficially upon the spleen. At the present day the sheep farms and felt manufactures of this district are renowned throughout Eastern Toorkestan.

Quite at the commencement of the 9th century the Khalif Ool Mamoun, happening to be at Merv, was favourably impressed with the character and abilities of Ahmed, the son of Saman, a descendant of the Sassanian usurper Baharam-Choubeen, who unsuccessfully disputed the throne with Khosroo Purveez. Ahmed had four sons, to each of whom was confided a government. The eldest, named Nasr or Nusser, as Governor of Mawaralnahr, resided at Samarkand, and set his younger brother Ismael over Bokhara. Ismael was of a restless and ambitious character, and enlarged his province by the annexation of Khwarezm. A serious quarrel, however, broke out between the two brothers, which ended in a pitched battle, and the defeat of the eldest. Ismael on this occasion exhibited praiseworthy magnanimity and restored Nusser to his former dignity. After this a perfect understanding existed between them, and on the death of Nusser, Ismael united the whole of Mawaralnahr beneath his sway, and founded the dynasty of the Samanides. Fixing the seat of his government at Bokhara, he captured Herat and subdued Khorassan, and established a reputation for justice as well as for military and administrative genius.

Of Ismael's descendants there is little to be said,\* previous to the reign of Abdool Kassim Noah, or Ameer Noah II., who was driven from his territory by Bogra Khan, the ruler of Khokan, Kashgar, and Khotan. On the death of his enemy Noah returned to Bokhara, and was upheld by the prowess of Sebektegeen, father of Mahmoud of Ghuznee. The latter, indeed, rendered such essential service to the feeble Chief of Mawaralnahr that he was appointed Governor of Khorassan.

Noah's son Munsoor was deprived of his throne and his

eyesight by a conspiracy of the nobles, who invested his brother Abdool-Malek with the insignia of royalty. The usurper, grown arrogant through success, next sought to dispossess Mahmoud of his province of Khorassan, but was defeated in battle by that warlike prince and compelled to return with disgrace to Bokhara, which was shortly afterwards captured by the son of Bogra Khan, of Toorkestan, who carried off Abdool-Malek into captivity. The last of the Samanides was Ismael, another son of Noah II., who led a wandering life until he was slain A. D. 1004 by an officer of Mahmoud, who put the murderer to death, lest his enemies might accuse him of having connived at the murder of a prince from whose family he had received such important favours.

The weak Samanian dynasty was succeeded by the Ghuzneevides. The first sovereign of Ghuznee was a Bokharese noble, indifferently named Abestagee or Aleptekeen, who obtained the government of Khorassan, but was afterwards compelled to seek his fortunes on the other side of the Hazareh Mountains. Establishing himself at Ghuznee with a band of six or seven hundred followers, he founded an independent State, which he bequeathed to his son Isaak, whose debaucheries terminated his life at an early date. The choice of the nobles then fell upon one Sabaktegee or Sebektegee, who had distinguished himself as a soldier of the body guard, and was thence called Gholam-i-Shah, or the king's slave.

Of Toorkish origin, Sebektegee soon gave evidence that he had inherited at least the martial virtues of his race. Not only did he over-run the Punjab, but it was through his puissant support that Ameer Noah II. was maintained on the tottering throne of Mawaralnahr. The grateful Samanee bestowed on him, in return, the honourable title of Nusser-ood-deen, or the Victorious of the Faith, and upon his son Mahmoud the viceroyalty of Khorassan. Sebektegee was succeeded by his

son Ismail, whose pretensions were soon forced to yield to the masterful ambition and capacity of his famous brother, the first Mohammedan invader of Hindostan, and the remainder of whose life was passed in a comfortable obscurity.

Mahmoud of Ghuznee commenced his reign with the reduction of Mooltan, but was hastily summoned back to Khorassan to oppose an invasion of the Toorks under Eylek or Elij Khan, ruler of Kashgar, reinforced by a contingent of 50,000 horse from Khotan. The two armies encountered each other near Balkh, A. D. 1007, and victory was long doubtful until Mahmoud charged in person into the thick of the mêlée, his elephant seizing with his trunk Eylek Khan's standard-bearer and flinging him aloft. A few years later Mahmoud bestowed the province of Khwarezm, with its chief city Urghunj, upon his favourite general Altoon Tash.

On Mahmoud's death, A. D. 1028, his son Massaoud succeeded to his title but not to his power. In this reign the descendants of Seljook assumed a prominent position in the affairs of Central Asia, and made themselves masters of Khorassan, Balkh, and Merou. Massaoud was deposed by his own soldiery, who raised to the throne his brother Mohammed, whose eyes he had put out, and a few years later he was murdered in prison by Mohammed's son Ahmed, without, however, his father's privity to the deed.

This foul action was speedily and terribly avenged. Massaoud's son Madood, who was then at Balkh, collected an army, crossed the mountains, and overthrew Mohammed's forces in battle, that Prince and all his sons, with the exception of one, being immediately afterwards put to death. The history of the Ghuzneevide dynasty from this time to its extinction, A. D. 1184, is characterized by Sir John Malcolm as an uninteresting and disgusting record of petty wars, rebellions, and massacres.

In the 10th and 11th centuries the Toorks—or Tatars, as they

are commonly though erroneously called by European writers —were divided into tribes, each paying a nominal obedience to an hereditary Chief, whose influence depended upon the degree of support he received from the Reish Sooffeed, or Greybeards. At times a son or nephew of the Chief, impatient of even the semblance of control, would separate from the original tribe and found a new Horde under his own name. The word Horde seems to be identical with the Persian Oordoo, signifying 'a camp,' but came to be applied to a congeries of sub-tribes inhabiting a particular district. The Chief of the Kipchak Toorks, or Kuzzaks, appears to have taken offence at the arrogance of one of his ablest officers, named Seljook, who consequently withdrew to Samarkand and became a convert to the faith of Islam. Seljook's eldest son, Mikail, was killed by an arrow while yet in the flower of manhood, but not before he had been taken into favour by Mahmoud of Ghuznee.

Mikail left two sons, whom the aged Seljook caused to be educated with great care in all the accomplishments considered becoming to a Toorkish Chief. Mahmoud of Ghuznee having expressed a desire to see these youths, whose fame had gone abroad throughout Central Asia, their uncle Israel proceeded to his court to make the preliminary arrangements. The highest marks of distinction were showered upon the envoy, who was placed in the seat of honour by Mahmoud's side during the celebration of public games got up for his entertainment. Anxious to obtain some definite knowledge of the influence exercised by Seljook's grandsons, the king asked their uncle how many horsemen they could send to him if he needed their aid. Taking one of the two arrows that he chanced to have with him, and laying it at Mahmoud's feet, Israel replied that if it were despatched to the head-quarters of his tribe, a hundred thousand horsemen would answer to the summons. But suppose further help were needed? asked the king. Israel produced the second arrow

and said: 'This will bring 50,000 more to thy support.' And should that not be enough? 'Then,' exclaimed the other, placing his bow beside the arrows, 'send that also into the land of the Toorks, and 200,000 horsemen will speed to thy help.' Mahmoud, the tradition adds, broke up the games in alarm, and consigned Israel to a fortress for life, as a hostage for the conduct of his kinsman.

Under his son Massaoud, however, the Seljookians crossed the Oxus and established themselves in Khorassan, and in A. D. 1037 Toghrul Bey Mohammed, the eldest brother, assumed the ensigns of royal power and fixed his court at Nishapoor. The younger brother, Chegher Beg Daoud, likewise cut out a principality for himself, and seized upon Herat and Merv. On Massaoud's death the two brothers with their united forces subdued Balkh and Khwarezm, and Toghrul Beg eventually conquered Irak, captured Baghdad, and took to wife the daughter of the Khalif-ool-Kaim, by whom he was appointed Vicegerent and Vicar of the Prophet, and Lord of all the Mohammedans upon earth. He was at the same time presented with seven dresses and seven slaves, to symbolize his supremacy over the seven regions nominally subject to the Commander of the Faithful. 'A veil of gold stuff, scented with musk, was thrown over his head, on which two crowns were placed, one for Arabia, the other for Persia; while two swords were girt on his loins to signify that he was ruler both of the East and of the West.' The doughty old warrior, however, enjoyed his honours but for a brief space, for he died at Rey, whither he had proceeded to consummate his marriage, at the age of seventy, A. D. 1063.

The second monarch of the Seljookian dynasty was the renowned Alp Arslan Mohammed or the Great Lion, son of Toghrul's brother Daoud or David. This great prince defeated and took prisoner Romanus Diogenes, the valiant husband of the

Empress Eudocia. His death was the result of an excess of self-reliance. Having reduced a town on the Oxus, named Berzem or Nerzem, he ordered the governor to be executed for insolence of speech and demeanour. The latter drew a knife from his boot and rushed at the monarch, who, in a loud voice, bade the attendants to stand aside. Coolly fitting an arrow to his bow, he discharged it at the distance of only a few paces. For once he missed his aim, and the next moment was mortally wounded. The two thousand armed attendants instantly fled from the scene, and the regicide would have escaped had not a tent-pitcher outside knocked him down with his mallet.

Alp Arslan was buried at Merv, and the following sentence was engraven upon his tomb: 'All you who have seen the glory of Alp Arslan exalted to the heavens, come to Merv, and you will behold it buried in the dust.' It is said that Alp Arslan was childishly proud of his title, and laboured to assume a fancied semblance to the royal animal after whom he was called. From the apex of his tiara to the end of his thick bushy beard there was a length of four feet, which added to the singularity of his personal appearance. So widely extended was his sway that it is asserted that no fewer than twelve hundred kings, princes, and sons of kings and princes, at times stood before his throne.\*

His successor Malek Shah was fortunate in his Wuzeer, or Prime Minister, the celebrated Nizam-ool-Moolkh. This monarch's dominions extended from Antioch to the furthest limits of Khokan, and even Kashgar was compelled to pay tribute. It is written that the boatmen on the Oxus once complained to him that their services had been paid in drafts upon the treasury

\* General Abbott says that on asking for information respecting this prince, whose name he pronounced according to the English fashion, no one seemed ever to have heard of him. He afterwards discovered that every one was more or less familiar with the history of Ulp Urslan.

at Antioch, but the Wuzeer explained that this was done merely to exhibit the prince's glory and power, and the bills upon Syria were paid in full by the treasury of Bokhara. Another tradition will have it that Malek Shah twelve times traversed his vast territories from end to end; but, considering the slow rate of travelling in those days, it may be permissible to discount this statement. His capital city was Ispahan, and prayers for his health and happiness were daily offered up in Jerusalem, Mecca, Medina, Baghdad, Ispahan, Rey, Bokhara, Samarkand, Urgunj, and Kashgar.

A seemingly simple act of this powerful sovereign was productive of disastrous consequences in the future. The foundation of the kingdom of Khwarezm, and the subsequent conquest of Central Asia by Chinghiz Khan, may be traced to the bestowal of the viceroyalty of that province upon an officer of his household, named Noshtegen Ghirjah, whose duty it was to pour water over the royal hands after each meal. Noshtegen's son, Kootb-ood-deen Mohammed, renounced his allegiance to the Seljookian princes, though he acted on all occasions as a faithful friend and ally. Malek Shah left four sons, all of whom reigned in their turn, but the youngest, Sanjar, alone attracts the attention of posterity, and that chiefly through his misfortunes. He began, indeed, by recovering Bokhara and Samarkand, which his feeble brothers had suffered to be wrested from them, but he was signally defeated by Gour Khan, ruler of Kara Katay, or Central Tatar, and forced to flee to Termedh.

A worse disaster awaited him. He had allowed 40,000 Toorkomans from Ghuz to settle in Khotl and the adjacent districts, on their engaging to supply him annually with 24,000 sheep. The agent of his purveyor, however, demanding, one year, more than the king's due, was instantly put to death by the barbarians. The governor of Balkh, vainly attempting to

reduce them to obedience, likewise lost his life. Though personally disposed to overlook these acts of violence, Sanjar was forced by his nobles to take the field, but his army was utterly routed and himself made prisoner. The Toorkomans then pillaged Merv for three days, and tortured the inhabitants to compel them to discover their hidden treasures. Sanjar remained a captive in their hands for four years, when his rescue was effected and he escaped to Termedh, whence he proceeded to Merv. During his captivity, however, the country had been reduced to misery and desolation. The nobles had sacrificed every other consideration to the gratification of their own pleasures and passions, and the aspect of the land was as though a hurricane had swept over it. The spectacle of such widespread wretchedness broke the heart of the aged monarch, who died A. D. 1157, in his 73rd year.

More than once in the course of his troubled reign of 40 years, Sanjar had been engaged in hostilities with Atseez, son of Kootb-ood-deen Mohammed, tributary king of Khwarezm. Driven to rebellion by the arts and insolence of Sanjar's nobles, Atseez had been defeated in battle and driven from his territories, while his son was put to death and his government conferred upon Sanjar's brother, Suliman Shah. He soon returned, however, and on his approach Suliman took to flight. Again did Sanjar invade Khwarezm, and Atseez, besieged in his capital, was compelled to sue for mercy from his suzerain. Pardoned and restored to power, he again sought to establish his independence. This time Sanjar commenced by the reduction of Hazarasp, and thence advanced upon the capital. Conscious of his inability to offer effectual resistance, Atseez sent valuable presents to the king, and obtained terms of peace, on condition that he repaired in person to his conqueror's camp on the banks of the Jyhoon, and prostrated himself in token of subjection.

Only in part was this condition fulfilled. Atseez proceeded,



indeed, to the royal camp, but refused to dismount from his horse, and merely bent his head, whereupon Sanjar declared himself satisfied and returned to Merv. Subsequently Atseez extended his sway eastwards as far as Otrar, and died A. D. 1156, but his career of conquest was pursued by his son, Ayeel Arslan, to the south-west as well as to the east.

Ayeel Arslan's younger son, Sooltan Shah, usurped the throne of Khwarezm on his father's death, but his reign consisted of one long contest with his elder brother, Sooltan Allaood-deen Takhesh, who succeeded to power A. D. 1193.

For the space of nearly forty years the Seljookian race had shown unmistakable signs of exhaustion and decay. The last of that dynasty was Toghrul III., who fell in battle at Rhé, or Rey, in a vain attempt to recover Irak from Takhesh, the ruler of Khwarezm. In a state of mad intoxication he rode at the head of his army, shouting aloud a stanza from Firdousi, and brandishing his iron mace. Making an idle blow he overbalanced himself, and, striking his own horse on the fore leg, came heavily to the ground, where he was speedily despatched and his head cut off.

Thus terminated the rule of the descendants of Seljook, after an existence of 158 years, and the subordinate branches in Kerman and Anatolia also died out shortly afterwards. Takhesh Khan, the conqueror of Toghrul III., was himself defeated not long afterwards on the banks of the Syhoon by the Khan of Soghnak, and died A. D. 1200, while on the march against Alamut, the chief seat of the Ishmaelians, or Assassins, the notorious sect, once so wildly feared, founded by Hassan Soubah, or Sheikh-ool-Gebel, commonly known to Europeans as the Old Man of the Mountain.

Under Takhesh Khan's son, Kootb-ood-deen Mohammed, the kingdom of Khwarezm experienced both extremes of fortune. In the beginning, Mohammed lost and recovered Kho-

rassan, and, following up his success, brought under subjection several provinces of Persia. He then made himself master of Bokhara and Samarkand, and, routing the forces of Gourkhan, Khan of Kara-Katay, or Central Tatory, took possession of Otrar. Soon after his return to Khwarezm he was startled by the intelligence that the Karakatayans had laid siege to Samarkand. Taking the field without loss of time, he forced the enemy to raise the siege and give battle. While the contest was raging a terrible dust storm arose, and both armies falling into inextricable confusion, broke up and fled.

His next exploit was less ambiguous, and Ghuznee yielded to his arms, on the death of Shahab-ood-deen, the Ghourian. His good fortune, however, now deserted him. While on the march to Baghdad he received despatches from the Governor of Otrar, informing him of the arrival of certain persons who gave themselves out to be traders, but who were evidently spies of the Mongol Chief, Chinghiz Khan. In reply, Mohammed ordered the Governor to put the spies to death, but one of the party escaped and reported the fate of his comrades to Chinghiz Khan, who, immediately, despatched an ambassador to demand reparation for this atrocious outrage. In defiance of the most elementary principles of international law, the hapless envoy was handed over to the executioner.

The Mongol leader was not of a temperament to allow such an insult to pass unavenged, and instantly prepared for the invasion of Mawaralnahr. Mohammed hurried back to avert the overthrow of his kingdom, but on reaching Nishapoor gave himself up for an entire month to drunkenness and debauchery. At last, rousing himself to action, he pushed on to Bokhara, where he again indulged in fatal excesses. Hearing that Chinghiz Khan was marching upon Samarkand in person, while his eldest son Joujee was advancing through Toorkestan, he resolved to encounter the less formidable of his enemies, and

hastened to meet the latter, but notwithstanding the overwhelming superiority of his forces Mohammed was unable to do more than hold his ground. He thereupon retreated to Samarkand, where he is said to have collected an army of 400,000 horsemen—evidently a monstrous exaggeration. Instead, however, of hurling this immense body of cavalry upon the Mongols he broke it up into detachments to garrison his frontier towns, and withdrew into Khorassan, after instructing his mother Toorkan Khatoon to convey his women and children into Mazanderan. That strong-minded lady acted up to his instructions, after flinging the youngest of the children into the Jyhoon.

From that moment the doomed prince seemed incapable of forming or fulfilling any resolution. Instead of defending the fords of the Jyhoon, and the passes of the Elburz mountains, he wandered without fixed purpose hither and thither, closely pursued by his inexorable foe, and wasting every respite in hard drinking. His wives and children falling into the hands of the Mongols were cruelly ill-treated and murdered, and at last Mohammed himself died of grief and shame on a small island in the Caspian. To such destitution had he been driven that he was buried in the clothes he wore, because he left not enough money to purchase a shroud. His eldest son, Rokkenood-deen, was captured in Firozekoh, in 1222, by Chinghiz Khan, and put to death without pity. Another son of Mohammed, named Gyath-ood-deen, after fleeing from one place to another, took refuge with Borah Hajet, a Kara-Khatayan officer in the service of his unhappy father, and who had established himself in Kerman. Regardless alike of the laws of hospitality and the claims of gratitude, the cautious barbarian murdered his defenceless guest.

Jelal-ood-deen, yet another son of Mohammed, deserved a better fate than dogged his wandering career. On his father's

death he returned to Khwarezm, which had not then been entered by the victorious Moghuls. Finding it impossible to maintain himself in that country he fought his way to Ghuznee, and overthrew the enemy in two engagements. He was compelled, however, to retreat before the vastly superior forces of Chinghiz Khan, even to the banks of the Indus. At last brought to bay, he fought with desperate resolution until his little band was completely overpowered. Then, throwing off his armour, he swam his horse across the river, and, on gaining the opposite side, coolly dismounted and laid his charger's accoutrements together with his own clothes out in the sun to dry. Chinghiz, who had been watching the young hero for some time, is said to have uttered an exclamation of admiration, which has more of the Persian than the Moghul ring:—'Like a lion, invincible in the conflict of the field of battle; like an alligator, unterrified in the foaming stream; no father could ever boast of a son like this!'

For the next two years Jelal-ood-deen plundered the country lying to the eastward of the Indus, and then directed his steps to Irak Ajem, taking to wife on the way the daughter of that Borah Hajet who, a few years later, murdered his brother Gyath-ood-deen. His next achievement was the defeat of an army of 20,000 men sent against him by the Khalif Ool Nusser, as though the Mohammedans did not need to be in perfect union and harmony among themselves, in face of the terrible foe who was sweeping their religion from off the face of the earth.

From this time the fugitive prince of Khwarezm led a restless, unsettled life, gaining many victories, but unable to secure a permanent position. Sustaining, in his turn, a severe defeat at the hands of the Mongols, he retreated to Ispahan, whence he again issued and invaded Georgia. After a while he began to indulge too freely in wine, and on the barbarians pouring into

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Mazanderan he fled from Eklat, leaving his wives, children, and dependants to be ruthlessly massacred. As to his own end, nothing certain is known. According to one account, Jelalood-deen was assassinated in Kohistan by a Koord, while he slept; but others assert that he disguised himself as a Sooffee, or dervish, and so baffled further pursuit. In either case, nothing was heard of him after A. D. 1231, eleven years having then elapsed since his father's flight to Khorassan and the downfall of the first Mohammedan kingdoms of Central Asia.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE MOGHULS.

ORIGIN OF THE MOGHULS—CHINGHIZ KHAN—CONQUEST OF NORTHERN CHINA—MASSACRE OF TATAR ENVOYS AT OTRAR—REDUCTION OF OTRAR—DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF MOHAMMED SHAH—CAPTURE OF BOKHARA—CAPTURE OF SAMARKAND, TERMEDH, BALKH, TALIKHAN, MERV, NISHAPOOR, HERAT, AND URGHUNJ—DEATH OF CHINGHIZ—HIS YASAK OR CODE—BATOU KHAN'S IRRUPTION INTO EUROPE—THE MOGHUL EMPIRE—PAPAL MISSIONS TO THE GREAT KHAN—REPLY OF KUYOUK KHAN—MANGOU KHAN'S REBUKE—MISSION OF WILLIAM DE RUBRUQUIS—TATAR CUSTOMS—THE MOGHUL COURT AT KARAKORAM.


MOHAMMEDAN writers—heedless of the Horatian warning to future historians of the Trojan war to dash at once into their subject, avoiding all allusion to ‘the twin-egg’—make a point of tracing the genealogies of heroes and nations back to the Patriarch Noah. The Tatars and Moghuls are thus made to derive their descent from Japhet, whose eldest son was named Toork, and who was also the father of Rouss, described as a fierce savage and yet the original deviser of a system of judicial inquiry. Alenjäh Khan, in the fourth generation from Toork, had two sons, born at a birth, afterwards known as Tatar and Moghul, between whom, at his death, he equally divided his extensive possessions.

Among the rare objects bequeathed to the latter was a stone inscribed with one of the mysterious names of the Deity, and called by the Arabs the ‘Rainstone,’ owing to the virtue it was supposed to possess of compelling or dispersing the water-clouds. The Persians, however, refer to it as the ‘Aidstone,’

or 'Stone of Power,' and endow it with many other attributes.

The original haunts of the Moghuls were the inhospitable steppes lying to the north and north-west of China, whence issued the barbaric hordes with whom Attila, the Scourge of God, ravaged Europe in the fifth century. A fierce untutored race of wandering shepherds, of hideous aspect, they spread themselves in the 13th century, like a devastating flood, not only over Asia from the Sea of China to the Black Sea, but also over Hungary, and threatened to overwhelm the whole civilized world. 'From the remote shores of Eastern Asia'—says Mr Murray in the Introductory Essay to his edition of Marco Polo—'westward, as far as the Rhine, extends a vast plain, which, during the whole period of ancient history, presented an aspect of the deepest barbarism. The population had nowhere advanced beyond the pastoral state, whose occupations they combined with the more favourite ones of war and plunder. Such enterprises were greatly facilitated by the moveable nature of their property, which rendered it easy to assemble in large bodies, and march to the remotest regions. They were tempted, moreover, by the view of rich and civilized kingdoms, extending in a continuous belt along the whole southern border of both continents. Hence, in the earliest times, arose a mighty and incessant impulse; so that, from the heart of the north, there issued in successive swarms, not armies, but whole nations, with wives, children, herds and flocks, cutting their way with the sword into fairer and more fruitful lands. The shepherds of Scythia seated themselves on the greatest thrones of the East.'


Although these migratory multitudes consisted chiefly of Moghuls, or Mongols, they are best known to Europeans by the name of Tatars, partly because the latter formed the vanguard of the host that overran Hungary in the 13th century, and partly because of the similarity of their name to the already familiar Tartarus. For the sake of convenience, therefore,—



and notwithstanding the inaccuracy of the term,—the more common appellation will be frequently adopted in this narrative, in speaking of the achievements of Chinghiz Khan, the great leader of the Moghuls.

The real name of this remarkable man was Temucheen, or Temugeen. He was born on the banks of the Onon, in the beginning of the second half of the 12th century. At the death of his father he was only thirteen years of age, and had to provide for four younger brothers. This would have been no difficult task had not the 30,000 families who had recognized the chieftainship of his father, refused to pay him the tithes due to a Khan. His first attempt to coerce his refractory vassals terminated in a drawn battle, and Temugeen found himself under the necessity of suing for hospitality at the Court of Ouang Khan, ruler of the Keraites.

This prince is supposed by certain oriental scholars to have been the original of Prester John, about whom so much nonsense was written by the missionaries and religious scribes of those days. According to John de Plano Carpini, as rendered in Astley's collection, Chinghiz was defeated by Prester John, King of Greater India, by means of hollow images made of copper and filled with fire. 'These were set on Horses and a Man behind each, who with a Pair of Bellows blew Fire upon the Enemy; which burnt them, and raised a great Smoke.' The credulous Franciscan, however, seems to have been addicted to 'Travellers' Tales,' for he relates on the authority of certain Russian priests, that when Chinghiz and his victorious army were returning from India 'through the Desarts, they met with a People whose Men were shaped like Dogs. These Monsters on the Approach of the Mongols ran into a River, and then rolling themselves on the Ground, the Dust and Water became frozen together (it being Winter) and formed a Kind of Armour, Proof against the Swords and





Arrows of their Enemies: whom they fell upon Tooth and Nail, and thus drove them out of their Countrey.'

It is more certain that the youthful Temugeen obtained favour in the eyes of the Prince of the Keraites, whose capital city was Karakoram, and commanded his forces in several successful engagements. His good fortune naturally raised him up some powerful enemies, and he was again forced to seek safety in flight. It was not long, however, before he found himself at the head of a band of trusty followers, whose numbers were continually recruited through the prospect of plunder. As soon as he judged his means adequate to his purpose, Temugeen invaded and subdued the country of the Keraites, and the skull of Ouang Khan, enchased in silver, became one of his drinking cups. At length he was enabled to overthrow the collected forces of his enemies, and to inflict a horrible vengeance. Having prepared seventy cauldrons of boiling water, he flung into each a Moghul Chief, and sold as slaves their women, children, and aged parents. The young men of the conquered tribes he incorporated into the ranks of his army, and never had reason to regret the confidence he placed in their martial and predatory habits.

By the time he had attained his fortieth year Temugeen had so completely established his position, that he felt he could venture upon convoking a Koroultai or general Diet of the Moghul tribes. At this meeting a naked devotee, who was believed to have ascended to heaven on a white horse, saluted the conqueror by the title of Zingiz or Chinghiz Khan, which, in the language of the Moghuls, signified Very Great, or Greatest Prince. The assembled Khans then accepted him as their Khakhan or Qaan, and thus, A.D. 1206, the wandering adventurer Temugeen became the sovereign of Mongolia.

The first, as also the last, enterprise of Chinghiz Khan was directed against the kingdom of Tangut to the north-west of


China, which he speedily brought under subjection. The Uigurs prudently sent in their submission, as did also the Kirghiz, who further presented their new suzerain with a 'Shungar,' a white bird with red eyes and bill. Having consolidated his authority over the pastoral hordes roaming over the steppes to the north and north-west of China, Chinghiz resolved to carry his victorious arms into that ancient empire, of which the Moghuls were still nominally vassals. A haughty answer having been returned to his insolent demand for tribute in token of obedience, Chinghiz let loose his fierce barbarians upon that rich and effeminate people. After the storm and pillage of ninety cities, he was rapidly marching upon Khanbaleg or Cambalu, the modern Peking, or northern capital, when his further advance was checked by overtures for peace too favourable to be disregarded. An enormous sum in gold and silver, 500 youths, 500 virgins, 3000 horses, and marriage with a Princess of China, purchased for a time the withdrawal of the Moghul hordes.

The weakest of these inducements to forbearance was doubtless the honour of a matrimonial alliance with the Imperial family, for a harem of 500 wives and concubines must have rendered Chinghiz comparatively indifferent to considerations of that kind. Each of his wives could boast of royal blood in her veins, and five of them are reported to have been especially dear to their uxorious lord. According to Abou'l Ghazee Khan's translator and commentator, the Tatars as a people entertained singularly loose ideas on the subject of their conjugal relations. If they did not marry their natural mothers it was simply, he says, because they had a distaste for old women. With regard to their wives he adds, '*des qu'elles approchent les quarante ans ils ne couchent plus avec elles, et ne les gardent tout au plus que comme des vieilles ménagères, aux quelles on jette un morceau de pain pour avoir soin de l'économie de la maison, et pour servir*

les jeunes femmes qui peuvent venir occuper leur place dans le lit du maistre.'

At a later period Chinghiz commissioned two of his best generals to complete the work he had been tempted to abandon. The reduction of Khanbaleg proved a tedious and laborious operation. Timid in the field, the Chinese fought bravely behind walls, and, when their ammunition was exhausted, discharged ingots of gold and silver from their engines. Reduced by famine to the last extremity, they devoured the bodies of the slain and perhaps of their own children, but still refused to surrender until the Moghuls drove a mine into the heart of the city, which was then sacked and plundered, while the palace is said to have burned for thirty days. In the end, the Emperor poisoned himself at Nankin, his southern capital, and the five northern provinces were annexed to the Moghul Empire. At that time, and, indeed, until a much later period, Northern China was called Kitai, from a people of the Manchu race, who emigrated from the north-west towards the end of the 10th century, and over-ran all China to the north of the Yellow River. The domination of these conquerors lasted for nearly two centuries, but the country continued to be known by their name long after the decay of their power.

After the conquest of Kitai, or Cathay—as it came to be called in the 13th century—Chinghiz Khan applied himself to the pacification of his vast dominions, and enforced such perfect security for life and property that Abou'l Ghazee Kan asserts that 'if any one had wished to carry openly, in his hands, gold or silver from one end of the empire to the other, he could have done so without the slightest risk.' Making due allowance for the hyperbolical phraseology of an oriental historian, it is probably no exaggeration to say that order and tranquillity so far prevailed that foreign traders were encouraged to enter his territories. Certain Khivan merchants, it is related, exhibited



their wares to the Khakhan, but asked such preposterous prices that he grew enraged, and told them he understood the value of their goods better than they imagined. Thereupon he showed them some articles of equally good quality which he had purchased on far more reasonable terms, and to punish their greed he confiscated all their property. The next batch of traders prudently left it to the Khakhan to adjust the prices, and were rewarded for their apparent confidence in his sense of justice by receiving double the worth of their merchandise. This munificence became blazed abroad, and a brisk retail commerce began to spring up under the Khakhan's protection.

A large caravan being about to set out for Khwarezm, Chinghiz sent with them three ambassadors to Mohammed Shah, the bearers of valuable presents and complimentary messages. It so chanced that when this caravan reached Otrar, the governor of the place was one Inallzik, whom the Sultan of Khwarezm, his kinsman, had been pleased to call Gageer Khan. One of the merchants who had known this man previous to his accession to dignity, addressed him by his original name, which so enraged him that he threw the whole party into prison. The governor further wrote to the Sultan and informed him that certain persons had come to Otrar representing themselves to be Arabs and merchants, but that he had reason to believe that they were Moghul spies. In reply Mohammed Shah, then on his march against Baghdad, hastily despatched instructions to Gageer Khan to put them to death. These orders were faithfully executed, except that one of the merchants escaped and reported the horrible butchery to Chinghiz.

Failing to obtain redress, the Khakhan declared war against Mohammed Shah, and made extensive preparations for taking the field. Two of his sons, Ougadai and Zagatai—or Okkadai and Chagatai—were detailed with a large force against Otrar,

which was defended by a garrison of 60,000 men. The place held out bravely for five months, when one of the Mohammedan generals with 10,000 men went over to the Tatars, by whom they were brutally massacred as traitors. The Tatars, however, did not hesitate to avail themselves of the treachery they professed to abhor, and had no scruple about entering the town through the gate that had been left open for them. Gageer Khan then retired into the citadel, whence he made frequent sorties, and greatly harassed the besiegers. But numbers at length prevailed, and the citadel was carried by storm. After performing prodigies of valour the ill-fated commander barricaded himself in his private apartments with two devoted followers, and, when they were slain and his supply of arrows exhausted, he still maintained a hopeless resistance by hurling down upon his foes stones and missiles, handed to him by his wife. In the end he was overcome and thrown into chains, until an order for his execution arrived from the Khakhan.

In the mean while Chinghiz, deputing his eldest son Joujee, or Zouzee, to make a detour through Toorkestan, led the main body of his forces in person against Samarkand. Deeming it an easier exploit to crush the son than the father, Mohammed Shah marched in the first instance against Joujee, who opposed his superior numbers with such desperate tenacity that the darkness of night alone put an end to the conflict. Dismayed by this terrible illustration of the nature of the danger he had provoked, the Sultan fell back upon Samarkand, while Joujee with his gallant but shattered army rejoined his father. The united Tatar host then continued their march upon Samarkand, without encountering any further opposition in the open country.

The Sultan meanwhile dispersed his 400,000 men among the frontier towns, and withdrew to Khwarezm without striking

another blow in defence of his kingdom. One of his first acts on reaching his capital was, in a fit of drunkenness, to order the execution of a Sheikh venerated by the common people, but whom he suspected of an illicit intrigue with his mother. On the following day, under an access of remorse, he sent a bowl filled with gold and gems to another Sheikh, and prayed that his crime might be forgiven, but his offerings were rejected and pardon refused.

After the capture of two or three smaller towns Chinghiz Khan appeared under the walls of Bokhara, A. D. 1219, accompanied, says Gibbon, by 'a body of Chinese engineers skilled in the mechanic arts, informed perhaps of the secret of gunpowder, and capable, under his discipline, of attacking a foreign country with more vigour and success than they had defended their own (*sic*).' A night sortie of the powerful garrison was repulsed with such fearful slaughter that some 20,000 soldiers withdrew from the city and took the road to Khwarezm. They were overtaken, however, by the Tatar cavalry near the banks of the Jyhoon and cut to pieces.

The keys of Bokhara were then surrendered in token of submission, and Chinghiz rode his charger into the principal, or Friday, Mosque. Being informed, in reply to his question if this were the Sultan's palace, that it was the House of God, he dismounted and ascended the pulpit, while the chief magistrates and mollahs held his horse. Flinging the Koran on to the pavement, he called aloud, 'The hay is cut; give your horses fodder;' and straightway, with exultant shouts, the barbarians spread themselves through the city, insulting and plundering the terror-stricken citizens. Many of them fell to eating and drinking in the mosque, wine and food being brought to them by Sheikhs and mollahs. Chinghiz himself repaired to the open space in front of the Ark, or Palace, and explained to the assembled townspeople that all this misery had been brought

upon them by their Sultan's atrocious violation of the law of nations. Learning shortly afterwards that some of the Sultan's soldiers were being sheltered and concealed by the inhabitants, he gave orders to set fire to the town, which, being built chiefly of wood, was soon burnt to the ground with the exception of the spacious stone structure known as the Ark, or Government House. Thirty thousand human beings were put to the sword, and the survivors sold as slaves. So complete was the work of destruction that one of the few who escaped being asked to describe what he had witnessed, contented himself with repeating a Persian distich :

Amedad a broadad a saktad  
a kashtad a bardad a refad.

They came, destroyed, burnt,  
Murdered, robbed, and went.

However, a little before his death Chinghiz rebuilt the town, but many years passed before Bokhara recovered any portion of its former wealth and importance. The miserable fate of Mohammed Shah has been already described, as well as the heroic conduct and misfortunes of his son Jelal-ood-deen, and the wretched tale needs not to be repeated. It remains, however, to be told how the strongly fortified cities of Samarkand and Urghunj were brought under the Tatar yoke. According to Abou'l Ghazee Khan, the garrison of Samarkand had been reinforced by an army of 100,000 men, commanded by 30 generals, and rendered more formidable by an array of elephants, an animal little known to the Tatars and therefore much dreaded. A broad wet moat was dug round the town, and every preparation made for a prolonged resistance. The besieged, however, seem to have been discouraged by the repulse of their first sortie, and, though they successfully beat off an assault that lasted till nightfall, the generals fell out with the chief Mufti and Kazi, who thereupon opened to the enemy

the gate reserved for festival occasions, of which they were the official but untrustworthy custodians. The entire garrison is said to have been massacred, with the exception of a thousand men who contrived to escape.

Chinghiz distributed 30,000 of the inhabitants among his officers, and sent no small number into his Chinese provinces to lay out pleasure-grounds, while upon those who were suffered to remain in their ruined homes was imposed an annual tribute of 300,000 gold dinars. From Samarkand he himself proceeded in a southerly direction against Termedh, which he sacked and destroyed. It is related that not one of the town's-folk was left alive with the exception of one old woman, who offered by way of ransom a pearl of exceeding great value. Being pressed to disclose her treasure, she confessed that she had swallowed it; whereupon she was ripped up alive and her truthfulness made manifest. The bodies of the dead were then treated in a similar manner, but not to the same advantage.

Balkh, esteemed in the East as the oldest city in the world, experienced the same fate at Termedh. Some idea of its extent and riches may possibly be formed from the statement that it contained 1200 large mosques, without including chapels, and 200 public baths for the use of foreign merchants and travellers—though it has been suggested that the more correct reading would be 200 mosques and 1200 baths. Anxious to avert the horrors of storm and pillage, the citizens at once offered to capitulate, but Chinghiz, distrusting the sincerity of their submission so long as Sultan Mohammed Shah was yet alive, preferred to carry the place by force of arms—an achievement of no great difficulty. A horrible butchery ensued, and the 'Tabernacle of Islam'—as the pious town was called—was razed to the ground. In the words of the Persian poet, quoted by Major Price, 'The noble city he laid as smooth as the palm of his hand—its spacious and lofty structures he levelled in the dust.'



The reduction of Talikhan was a more serious operation. Holding a position of great natural strength, this comparatively small town checked the advance of the Moghuls for seven months, before it was taken by storm and its defenders put to the sword. Anderab, situated near the foot of the Hazareh Mountains, marked by its smoking ruins the victorious progress of the barbarians; but at the siege of Bamian Chinghiz lost his favourite grandson, the son of Chagatai, and scarce satiated his fury by the total demolition of the town and the un pitying slaughter of its inhabitants, so that not one survived. The desperate valour of Jelal-ood-deen, indeed, more than once inflicted severe losses upon the Tatar hosts, but like a swarm of devouring locusts they still swept on, regardless of the breaches torn through their dense array.

The flourishing city of Merou or Merv, had at first opened its gates to Toulai, the fourth son of the Khakhan, but on his departure set up the standard of revolt. The respite was brief, the revenge unsparing. Retracing his steps, the Tatar Chief again appeared before its walls, and in three weeks overpowered all opposition. The amount of treasure and valuable effects that became the prize of the conquerors is described as almost fabulous. The inhabitants being ordered to march out into the plain were massacred in large batches, but so vast was the population that it was not until the close of the fourth day that the last party went forth to their doom. The artisans, however, were separated from the rest of the multitude, and kept alive to work for their conquerors. The slain have been estimated at 100,000, with the remark that this was the fourth time that Merv had been desolated, and that on each occasion upwards of 50,000 persons had been cut to pieces. These numbers are obviously exaggerated, though an authority cited by Major Price declares that the number of those who perished at the hands of Toulai's barbarians, 'amounted to a thousand

thousand and three hundred thousand and a fraction.' From Merv, Toulai turned to the north-west, and made himself master of the prosperous trading town of Nishapoor, which he pillaged and depopulated. Directing his course once more to the southward, Toulai laid siege to Herat, whose governor made seven brilliant sorties, but, being killed in the eighth, his troops fell into disorder and the Tatars entered the town *pêle-mêle* with the fugitives. The garrison alone suffered death, the citizens being pardoned and spared. The victorious general then hastened to rejoin his father, who had been detained all this time beneath the walls of Talikhan.

No sooner had Toulai withdrawn than the Heratees broke out into open revolt, and murdered the garrison left within their walls. Bitterly rebuking his son for not bearing in mind the example of Merv, Chinghiz detailed one of his best generals with 80,000 men, and with orders not to leave a soul alive. The rebellious city was speedily reduced, and so faithfully did the Tatar general execute the commission he had received, that, on the withdrawal of his host, only fifteen miserable beings crept out of the ruins in which they had concealed themselves.

While Chinghiz and Toulai were thus engaged in the work of bloodshed and desolation in the provinces of Khorassan, Badakhshan, and what is now called Afghanistan, the three elder sons of the Khakhan were similarly occupied in Khwarezm and Persia. The siege of Urghunj, the capital of Khwarezm, detained the Tatars for seven months. Ignorant of their near approach, the governor had suffered the citizens to leave their flocks and herds in the open plain. Suddenly, the advanced guard of the Tatars came in sight, when a force of 10,000 men was sent out to protect the sheep and cattle. After some brisk skirmishing the Tatars feigned a retreat and led their pursuers into an ambuscade, from which scarce a hundred escaped to tell the tale of their discomfiture. Vexed with the delay, the

brothers, who in turns commanded for a day, laid the blame of failure one upon the other, until Chinghiz vested the supreme command in the hands of his second son Octai, or Okkadai. Urghunj was shortly afterwards carried by storm, and it is said that 100,000 of the inhabitants were slaughtered, and as many more sold into slavery. It is also stated that the Tatars diverted the waters of the Jyhoon from their natural channel, and turned them against the walls of the town, which, being constructed of mud and sand, crumbled away and opened a wide breach.

On the subjugation of Khwarezm the Tatar Chiefs carried their arms beyond the Elburz mountains, and, dividing their forces, defeated in succession the Alans, the Kipchaks, and the Ooruss. Again effecting a junction amid the mountains of Circassia, they returned to Bokhara, after making a circuit round the north and west sides of the Caspian—a feat then accomplished for the first time. Abou'l Ghazee's translator, Bentinck, was, however, convinced that had Peter the Great lived a little longer, he would have undertaken and executed an enterprise so full of glory; and, further, that without some such military expedition there was little chance of obtaining an accurate knowledge of the eastern shores of that sea, as it was impossible for private individuals to visit the different Tatar hordes without wilfully exposing themselves to great danger.

Chinghiz also returned to Bokhara, then beginning to rise anew out of its ruins, but was allowed brief space to indulge in repose. The people of Tangut, his first conquest, took heart to rebel against his authority and to reassert their independence. The Khakhan made immediate preparations for their complete subjugation, but was overtaken by death, A.D. 1227, in the 65th year of his age.

His eldest son Joujee having died a short time previously, Chinghiz appointed Oktai his successor, but charged his sons to conceal his death until they had suppressed the Tangut

rebellion. The campaign was carried out in the spirit of the deceased hero. Thousands were slain, thousands were sold into captivity, several towns were levelled with the ground, and the country generally was laid waste. It is reported that the dying monarch summoned the three surviving sons by his chief wife to his bed-side, and handing to them in turn a sheaf of arrows desired them to break the bundle in twain. Each essayed his utmost, but all failed. He then bade them take out the arrows separately, when no difficulty was experienced in breaking them.


Whether or not this ancient apologue was enacted on this interesting occasion, the three sons lived together in perfect harmony. Though nominally supreme, Oktai seldom adopted any important line of action without previous consultation with the prudent and sagacious Chagatai, whose personal sway extended over Mawaralnahr, Kashgaria, Badakhshan, Ghuznein, and, in fact, as far as the Indus. This prince died in 1243, but his dynasty retained at least the semblance of royal power for upwards of a century, the last of the line being Kasan Sultan Khan, who fell in battle against Ameer Kasagan, a descendant of Oktai. By that time, however, the title of Khakhan was but the shadow of a name. Every tribal chief was more or less independent, and confusion and anarchy prevailed on all sides.

To Toulai, the fourth son, were assigned Persia and Khorasan, but he died three years after his father, leaving three illustrious sons—Mangou Khan, who succeeded to the dignity of Khakhan, or Khan of Khans, on the death of Oktai's son Gayuk, or Kuyuk Khan; Koublai Khan, who was Mangou's successor; and Houlakoo Khan, who destroyed the Khalifat, and put down the sect of Ishmael, commonly called the Assassins. Joujee, the eldest son of Chinghiz, had also a son, Batou Khan, whose name was destined to strike terror not only into China but into Europe.

Chinghiz Khan was not merely a barbarian conqueror—he was also a legislator. Not content with the work of destruction, he was ambitious to raise up a durable structure on broad and solid foundations. His religion was a pure deism, though both Moghuls and Tatars made to themselves tribal images, while many adopted the religion of their nearest neighbours, whether Christians, Mussulmans, or Buddhists. Perfect toleration was the natural fruit of this general indifferentism. Chinghiz would have no titles of nobility. There should be but one Khan or Khakhan, whose election rested with his lineal descendants and the heads of tribes. Every Moghul was bound from his birth to serve the State, and chiefly by military service, but on no account could a Moghul ever act in a menial capacity. Capital punishment awaited murderers, adulterers, perjurers, and horse and cattle stealers. Smaller thefts were expiated by flogging, or by restitution to the extent of nine times the value of the stolen article. Plurality of wives was permitted, as well as concubinage, but the children of a concubine were more lightly esteemed than those of a wife.

To allay the rancour of family feuds Chinghiz devised, or confirmed, a practice eminently calculated to appeal to the imagination and feelings of a rude people. The deceased child of one house might be contracted in marriage to the deceased child of another house, and this posthumous union was held to bind together the living as by a blood alliance. The contract was burned to ashes, that its spirit might ascend in the smoke to the homes of the departed.

The army was divided into tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, and so forth, each under the command of an officer who was made responsible for the discipline and equipments of his men. The Moghul arms consisted of bows and arrows, scymitars, and iron maces, which they wielded with vigour and adroitness. It is said that Chinghiz took the field



with upwards of 600,000 troops on entering into hostilities with the ruler of Khwarezm.

In time of peace, the Moghuls were inured by the labours of the chase for the fatigue and privations of war. At the commencement of the cold season the army would encircle an immense plain, as large as an English county, and, gradually closing up, would drive all the wild animals to a common centre, when the most adventurous youths would seek to distinguish themselves in single combat with the fiercest denizens of the swamp and jungle. The hunt would last through the whole winter, and served as a splendid training for the hardships of the ensuing campaign.

This Yasak or Code—the word signifying ‘prohibition’—remained in force until the conversion of the Tatars to Islam, and was regarded by Timour with respect and admiration. It is true that it was mainly directed to raise up and maintain a nation of warriors, and that the profession of arms was the only pursuit deemed worthy of a Moghul, but similar notions prevailed in Europe at that time, and western princes and barons were quite as illiterate as the unlettered Khakhan of the Tatars.

Of Oktai, it may be truly said that he walked in the footsteps of his father. His first warlike operations resulted in the extinction of the Kin dynasty, and the consolidation of the Tatar supremacy over all China to the north of the Great Kiang. Flushed by his easy triumphs in the East, Oktai resolved, about the year 1234, to bring the West likewise under his sway. Placing his nephew Batou, son of his eldest brother Joujee, at the head of half a million of savage warriors, he let him loose upon Europe. His choice of a general was justified by the event. ‘After a festival of forty days,’ writes the historian of the Roman Empire, ‘Batou set forward on this great expedition; and such was the speed and ardour of his innumerable squad-

rons that in less than six years they had measured a line of ninety degrees of longitude, a fourth part of the circumference of the globe. The great rivers of Asia and Europe, the Volga and Kama, the Don and Borysthenes, the Vistula and Danube, they either swam with their horses, or passed on the ice, or traversed in leathern boats, which followed the camp, and transported their waggons and artillery.'

While Batou in person overran Russia, and imposed tribute on the conquered province—little prescient of the future—one of his lieutenants entered Poland and burned Cracow to the ground. Breslau was shortly afterwards reduced to ashes, and on the 12th April, 1241, the Tatar host routed in battle at Lignitz, the united forces of the Poles, Moravians, and Silesians, under Duke Henry of Silesia, and filled nine sacks with the ears of the slain. Following up his success, Batou next invaded Hungary, defeated King Bela IV., sacked and destroyed Pesth, and ravaged the entire country with fire and sword.

'The Latin world,' continues Gibbon, 'was darkened by this cloud of savage hostility: a Russian fugitive carried the alarm to Sweden; and the remote nations of the Baltic and the ocean trembled at the approach of the Tartars, whom their fear and ignorance were inclined to separate from the human species. Since the invasion of the Arabs in the eighth century, Europe had never been exposed to a similar calamity; and if the disciples of Mahomet would have oppressed her religion and liberty, it might be apprehended that the shepherds of Scythia would extinguish her cities, her arts, and all the institutions of civil society.' \*

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\* In a very characteristic foot-note, a curious detail is given. 'In the year 1238, the inhabitants of Gothia (Sweden) and Frise were prevented, by their fear of the Tartars, from sending, as usual, their ships to the herring fishery on the coast of England; and, as there was no exportation, forty or fifty of these fish were sold for a shilling. It is whimsical enough that the orders of

In the hope of averting the impending calamity, Pope Gregory proclaimed a crusade against the savage idolaters, but as his relations with the Emperor Frederick II. happened just then to be the reverse of amicable, no joint action of the European Powers could be brought about, and all Eastern Europe lay at the mercy of Batou Khan. Suddenly, however, the Tatar hordes retraced their steps from the Danube to the Volga. 'The Great Khan Okkadai,' writes Colonel Yule, 'was dead in the depths of Asia, and a courier had come to recall the army from Europe.'

On the death of Oktai, or Okkadai, in 1241, the Supreme Khan, or Khakhan, of the Moghuls, personally administered the government of China, Corea, Mongolia, Manchuria, and Tibet, his usual residence being at Karakoram, until Koublai Khan removed it, A. D. 1260, to Khanbaleg, or Cambalu. His empire, however, extended far beyond even these wide bounds, and was divided into three Khanats, or lieutenancies.

The Khan of the House of Chagatai ruled over the middle portion, comprising Zungaria, part of Eastern Toorkestan, Transoxiana, and Afghanistan, with his seat of government sometimes at Almalik, on the Ili—perhaps near Old Kulja—and sometimes at Bokhara. To the Khan of the House of Toulai, or, rather, of Hoolakoo, were assigned the provinces of Persia, Georgia, Armenia, part of Asia Minor, Arabian Irak, and Khorassan, with Tabriz for their capital city. The northern or Kipchak empire fell to the Khan of the House of Joujee, and embraced part of modern Siberia, Khwarezm, the country north of the Caucasus, and a large slice of Russia. The court of this Khanat was held at Sarai on the Volga, a town created in a desert waste by Batou, and not unknown to Englishmen in the days of Chaucer:—

a Mogul Khan, who reigned on the borders of China, should have lowered the price of herrings in the English market.'



THE LIFE OF  
 JOHN RUSKIN  
 BY  
 JOHN RUSKIN

It was a very different thing to have him relieved of the burden of the world, and from the mighty power of his mind, which seemed rather to be a burden than a relief. It was not that at any time he was not a very great man, but that he was not a very great man in the way of his mind. He was not a very great man in the way of his mind, but that he was not a very great man in the way of his mind. He was not a very great man in the way of his mind, but that he was not a very great man in the way of his mind.

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The Englishman was very generous to the poor. He was very generous to the poor, and he was very generous to the poor. He was very generous to the poor, and he was very generous to the poor. He was very generous to the poor, and he was very generous to the poor.

of the Tatars,' who were therein bidden to withhold their destroying hands, and to desist from further outrages, and especially from the persecution of Christians, who, though tolerated in Asia, had undergone terrible cruelties in Europe; not, indeed, because of their religion, but simply as conquered enemies. On the 13th November, 1246, the envoys took leave of the Great Khan, and arrived at Kiew on the 8th June, 1247, bearers of the following letter:—

'The strength of God, Kuyuk Khan, the ruler of all men, to the great Pope. You and all the Christian people who dwell in the West have sent by your messengers sure and certain letters for the purpose of making peace with us. This we have heard from them, and it is contained in your letter. Therefore, if you desire to have peace with us, you pope, emperors, all kings, all men powerful in cities, by no means delay to come to us for the purpose of concluding peace, and you will hear our answer and our will. The series of your letter contained that we ought to be baptized, and to become Christians; we briefly reply that we do not understand why we ought to do so. As to what is mentioned in your letters, that you wonder at the slaughter of men, and chiefly of Christians, especially Hungarians, Poles, and Moravians, we shortly answer that this too we do not understand. Nevertheless, lest we should seem to pass it over in silence, we think proper to reply as follows. It is because they have not obeyed the precepts of God and of Gengis Khan, and, holding bad counsel, have slain our messengers. (The Russians murdered some Tatar envoys before the battle of Kalka.) Wherefore God has ordered them to be destroyed, and has delivered them into our hands. But if God had not done it, what could man have done to man? But you, inhabitants of the West, believe that you only are Christians, and despise others; but how do you know on whom He may choose to bestow His favour? We adore God, and, in His strength,

will overwhelm the whole earth from the East to the West. But if we were not strengthened by God, what could we do?’

Very much in the same spirit was the rebuke administered by Mangou Khan to William de Rubruquis. ‘The Mongols,’ observed the Khakhan, ‘believe there is but one God, and have an upright heart towards Him : That as He hath given to the hand many fingers, so He hath infused into the minds of men various opinions. God hath given the Scriptures to you Christians, but you observe them not. You find it not there that one of you should revile another, or that for money a man ought to deviate from justice. . . . God hath given you Scriptures and you keep them not, but He hath given us Soothsayers, whose injunctions we observe, and we live in peace (with one another).’

Carpini, however, was by no means favourably impressed with the uprightness of heart claimed by the Tatar chief as the special attribute of his people. ‘They speake fayre,’ he says, ‘in the beginning, but in conclusion they sting like scorpions. For craftie they are, and full of falsehood, circumventing all men whom they are able by their sleights.’ Neither was he pleasantly affected by their superstitious objection to personal cleanliness. Their garments were never cleansed, and were worn till they rotted off. When thunder was growling in the distance it was peculiarly unlucky to wash any article whatever, as such an act was likely to dispel the rain-clouds—in other words, water was too precious to be thrown away on external applications.

Notwithstanding the bootless result of the Franciscan Mission, Pope Innocent, in 1247, despatched four Dominican Friars—Ascelin, Simon de St Quintin, Alexander, and Albert—into Persia, but with even less success than had crowned his first venture. At that time a very general belief pervaded Europe that the Tatars, if not actually orthodox Christians,

had a decided leaning towards that religion. It was known that they were not Mohammedans, neither could they be called idolaters any more than the Christians themselves, who bowed down and worshipped graven images as though they had never heard of the Fourth Commandment. De Joinville relates that while Louis IX. was detained at Nicosia in Cyprus, waiting for a fair wind, envoys arrived from the Khan of the Tatars soliciting his co-operation against the Khalif of Baghdad, and avowing themselves of the same faith as the Franks. It has been suggested that the Tatars confounded the Christians with the Bonzas of Tibet, and that the Franks in their turn took their notion of Prester John from the Dalai Lama. Be this as it may, the sainted monarch lent a credulous ear to his visitors from the far East, and sent back a return mission consisting of three Friars and two officers of his household.

A little later, or in the year 1253, Saint Louis despatched William de Rubruquis—a Fleming, whose real name was Ruysbroek—‘of the order of the minorite friers, unto the East parts of the worlde,’ because a report had reached his ears that Batou’s son, ‘the Lord Sartach,’ had been converted to Christianity. The Friar, whose simple and picturesque narrative may be read in Hakluyt, and in Astley, started from Constantinople with a little present for the Tatar chief, consisting of ‘pleasant fruits, muscatel wine, and delicate bisket bread,’ and encountered many adventures on the road, but which, though highly amusing, are foreign to the purport of this compilation. He very soon discovered, however, that the idea of Tatar Christianity was altogether a delusion, which he largely ascribed to the proneness of the Nestorian Christians to spin out a most wonderful story from the merest trifle. When he was about to return to Europe, a Mongol officer begged him not to say that ‘our master is a Christian : he is no Christian but a Mongol;’ and he adds that these barbarians fancied that the

THE SUBJECT WAS BORN IN 1911 IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK. HE WAS REARED IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK AND ATTENDED THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY. HE WAS GRADUATED IN 1934 FROM THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY. HE WAS EMPLOYED BY THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY AS A TEACHER OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. HE WAS EMPLOYED BY THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY AS A TEACHER OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

They have the way in to make the water run to the  
the water runs out of the channel into the sea. They  
have divided the country among themselves, which stretched  
from the river Danube even into the country of the Rhine.  
and every of their countries according to the great or small  
number of the people, and with the bounds of the houses and  
where he ought to feed his cattle winter and summer spring  
and summer. For in the winter they breed into the warm  
regions southward. And in the summer they breed into the  
cold regions northward. In winter when snow lies upon the  
grounds they feed their cattle upon grasses without water,  
because they use snow instead of water.

[illegible]

eleven in one order according to the breadth of the cart, and eleven more before them ; the axle-tree of the carte was of an huge bignes like unto the mast of a ship. And a fellow stood in the doore of the house, upon the fore-stall of the carte, driving forth the oxen.

‘ Moreover, they make certaine four-square baskets of small slender wickers as big as great chestes : and afterward, from one side to another, they frame an hollow lidde, or cover, of such like wickers, and make a doore in the foreside thereof. And then they cover the sayd chest or little house with black felt rubbed over with tallow or sheep’s milke to keep the raine from soaking through, which they decke likewise with painting or with feathers. And in such chests they put their whole houshold stuffe and treasure. Also the same chests they do strongly binde upon their carts, which are drawen with camels, to the end they may wade through rivers. Neither do they at any time take down the sayd chests from off their carts. When they take down their dwelling-houses they turne the doores always to the south : and next of all they place the carts laden with their chests, here and there, within half a stone’s cast of the house : insomuch that the house standeth between two ranks of carts, as it were between two wals. The matrons make for themselves most beautiful carts, which I am not able to describe unto your majestie but by pictures onlie.

‘ Duke Baatu hath sixteen wives, every one of which hath one great house besides other little houses, which they place behind the great one, being as it were chambers for their maidens to dwel in. When they take their houses from off the cartes, the principal wife placeth her court on the west frontier, and so all the rest in their order : so that the last wife dwelleth upon the east frontier : and one of the said ladies’ courts is distant from another about a stone’s cast. Whereupon the court of one rich Moal or Tartar will appeare like unto a great village, very



Flemish Friar found it somewhat pungent, and says that 'it biteth a man's tongue like the wine of raspes when it is drunk. After a man hath taken a draught thereof, it leaveth behind it a taste like the taste of almon milke, and goeth downe very pleasantly, intoxicating weake braines.' Another beverage is named Caracosmos, or Black Cosmos, which was reserved for the 'great lords,' and is described as 'like unto whay or white must.' The lees were given to the servants and caused them to 'sleepe exceedingly.' 'That which is thinne and cleare their masters drinke; and in very deed it is marveilous sweete and wholesome liquor.' The Russian priests more truly than wisely declared that cosmos was not a drink fit for Christians, and consequently the Tatars declined to embrace a religion that forbade indulgence in their favourite liquor. The women in winter time usually drank a mixture made by pouring hot water upon curds kept in a bladder, the result being a very sour beverage.

Such as could afford it, loved to array themselves in silken stuffs, cotton cloths, and gold brocade brought from Persia, India, and Cathay, and in rich and costly skins procured from Russia and the northern regions of Asia. The house inhabited by Mangou Khan—for Okkadai, or Oktai, had set the example of abandoning the nomad tent for a settled residence—was hung with cloth of gold. 'In the midst was a Fire made of Thorns, Wormwood Roots of a great Size, and Ox-Dung. The Khan sat on a Bed, and was clad with a Robe of spotted Fur, which shined like a Seal Skin. He was of middle Stature, flat-nosed, and about 45 years old. His Wife, who was a little pretty Woman, sat by him.'

When in doubt as to what course to pursue, Mangou Khan had recourse to divination by means of the shoulder-bones of rams, and which seems to have been much on a par with our modern vulgar practice of tossing a coin in the air and crying



**Heads or Tails.** The Khan, we are told, would call for three bones, and, holding them in his hands, would inwardly formulate his dilemma. The bones were then taken away and put into a fire, and when quite black were brought back to him. If one were cleft lengthwise, the sign was affirmative; if one were cleft across, or if round pieces had flown off, the answer was held to be negative; but it is not stated how the response was to be read should both these events occur.

Apparently under the impression that a benediction can do no harm, if it does no good, Mangou Khan, when drinking, allowed the Nestorian priests to wave incense towards his cup and pronounce a blessing on its contents. The rumoured toleration and munificence of the Tatar chief drew to his court at Karakoram adventurers from all parts of the world. Rubruquis particularly mentions a Norman Bishop, a French lady from Metz with her Russian husband, several Hungarians, Greeks, Russians, Georgians, and Armenians, and a goldsmith from Paris, who had executed for the Khakhan a silver tree supported by four lions of the same precious metal, and ejecting four different kinds of liquor. There was also a colony of Germans, carried off as captives by Batou Khan, settled on the Jaxartes, or Syr Darya, and employed as miners.

The gradual decline of the Tatars from their original simplicity, and their attainment to a certain degree of barbaric splendour, have been described by Gibbon with his usual felicity of diction. 'On the banks of the Onon and Selinga, the royal or *golden horde* exhibited the contrast of simplicity and greatness; of the roasted sheep and mares' milk which composed their banquets; and of a distribution in one day of five hundred waggons of gold and silver. The ambassadors and princes of Europe and Asia were compelled to undertake this distant and laborious pilgrimage; and the life and reign of the great dukes of Russia, the kings of Georgia and Armenia, the sultans of

Iconium and the Emirs of Persia, were decided by the frown or smile of the great Khan. The sons and grandsons of Zengis had been accustomed to the pastoral life: but the village of Caracorum (about 600 miles to the north-west of Peking) was gradually ennobled by their election and residence.

‘A change of manners is implied in the removal of Gengis and Mangou from a tent to a house: and their example was imitated by the princes of their family and the great officers of their empire. Instead of the boundless forest, the enclosure of a park afforded the more innoxious pleasures of the chase: their new habitations were decorated with painting and sculpture; their superfluous treasures were cast in fountains and basins, and statues of massy silver; and the artists of China and Paris vied with each other in the service of the great Khan. Caracorum contained two streets, the one of Chinese mechanics, the other of Mohammedan traders; and the places of religious worship, one Nestorian church, two moschs, and twelve temples of various idols, may represent in some degree the number and division of inhabitants. Yet a French missionary declares that the town of St Denys, near Paris, was more considerable than the Tatar capital; and that the whole palace of Mangou was scarcely equal to a tenth part of that Benedictine Abbey.’

## CHAPTER V.

## THE TATARS.

KING HAITON I. OF ARMENIA—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MOGHUL AND CHRISTIAN PRINCES—LETTERS OF EDWARD II. TO THE KING OF THE TATARS—LETTER FROM PRESTER JOHN TO ALEXIUS COMNENUS—VARIOUS ACCOUNTS OF PRESTER JOHN—NESTORIUS—REVIVAL OF MOHAMMEDANISM—BIRTH OF TIMOUR—HIS EARLY LIFE AND ADVENTURES—RAISED TO THE THRONE—HIS CONQUESTS—SHEEHAHS AND SOONEES—THE TWELVE IMAMS—DEFEAT OF BAYAZID—RETURN OF TIMOUR TO SAMARKAND.

THE prevalent belief in Europe as to the Christianity of the Tatars may have been partly attributable to the letters addressed to the King and Queen of Cyprus by the Constable of Armenia, who wrote from Saurequant, conjectured by Colonel Yule to be a misprint for Samrequant, or Samarkand. In 1246, or thereabout, Hetoum or Hayton I., King of Little Armenia, deeming it prudent to place himself under the protection of the Great Khan, deputed his brother Sempad, or Sinibald, the constable of his tiny kingdom, to congratulate Kuyuk Khan on his accession to the power and dignity of the 'Cham of Tatarie.' The ambassador appears to have corresponded with their Cyprian Majesties, and to have furnished them with information of a novel as well as interesting character. Among other curious matters he states that the Three Kings who made their offerings to the Saviour in the manger came from Tanchat, or Tangut, and carried back with them to their distant homes on the borders of China the chief articles of the Christian faith.

Some years later King Hayton repaired in person to the court of Mangou Khan, successor to Kuyuk, — first of all

visiting the camp of the Tatar General at Kars. Thence the royal traveller proceeded through Armenia Proper and, traversing the Derbend Pass, at length arrived at Sarai on the Volga. Here he made the acquaintance of Batou Khan and his son Sartach, both of whom he declared to be Christians. Resuming his journey on the 13th May, 1254, he reached Karakoram in the early part of September, and was welcomed with profuse hospitality. On the 1st November the Armenian started on his homeward journey, travelling in safety by way of Zungaria, Otrar, Samarkand, Bokhara, Khorassan, Mazanderan, and Tabriz.

Towards the close of the 13th and in the beginning of the 14th century, diplomatic communications were more than once opened between Christian Powers and the Moghul Khans of Persia. The initiative seems to have been taken by the latter, who, with the diminution of their martial spirit, had laid aside their insolence of tone and manner, and were only solicitous to obtain assistance from the Franks in their wars with the Sultan of Egypt. According to Colonel Yule, two of these supplicatory letters are still preserved among the French archives. The earlier is from Argun Khan, and came in 1289. It is written in Uigur characters in the Mongol language, on a roll of cotton paper six feet and a half long by ten inches wide. The seal is thrice impressed on the face of the letter in red. It is five inches and a half square, containing six characters: 'Seal of the Minister of State, Pacificator of Nations.' The second letter is from Khodabandah, otherwise called Oljaitu, and written in 1305. The seal in this case contains the words: 'By a supreme decree the Seal of the Descendant of the Emperor, charged to reduce to obedience the ten thousand barbarous nations.'

A duplicate was probably sent to Edward II. of England, whose reply, dated from Northampton, 16th October, 1307, will

be found in Rymer's *Fœdera*. It is addressed '*Ad Regem Tartarorum*,' and begins, '*Excellentissimo Principi, Domino Dolgieto, Regi Tartarorum illustri*.' After mentioning the arrival of the Tatar envoys and the receipt of the letters intended for his royal father, who had shortly before departed this life, Edward acknowledges the friendly and affectionate relations that had always existed between the ancestors of the Tatar prince and his own, and reciprocates the wish that they may continue and grow still closer. He further expresses his great gratification on learning that the Khan had succeeded, '*Deo propitio*,' in establishing peace '*ab ortu solis usque ad confinia ultra mare*,' and trusts that in a short time, '*mediante Deo præsidio*,' he also will be able to suppress all discord and controversy, and introduce tranquillity and concord throughout his dominions.

On the 30th November of the same year, Edward wrote a second letter, '*Ad Imperatorem Tartarorum*,' and this time '*de Hærese Mahometanâ extirpandâ*.' Premising that it is the duty of kings and princes to defend the believers in Christ, to overthrow mischievous and perfidious peoples, and to destroy all unbelievers and rebels against Christ, he goes on to say that were it not for the great distance and because of the hinderance of his own affairs, he would gladly apply himself '*ad tam nephandæ sectæ eradicationem*'—which is described as the '*prophana secta et sordida Mahometi, circumquaque pululans et diffundens sua infecta germina*.' The time for such action had arrived, for the very books of these nefarious heretics prophesied that within a brief period their sect would cease and be annihilated. The English monarch therefore urges the Tatar prince to persevere in the good work he had begun, and not to rest till he had wholly swept away that '*sectam sordidam*.' And for his own part he proposes to send some honourable, learned, and pious men, who shall convert the Tatars

themselves to Christianity, and rouse them to wage war to the bitter end, 'contra detestabilem Mahometi sectam.'

The influence of the Chaldæan, or Nestorian, Christians under the early Arab conquerors, and down to the conquest of Baghdad by Hoolakoo Khan in the 13th century, is clearly set forth in Layard's 'Nineveh.' Their missionaries had penetrated into the very heart of the Moghul Empire, and boasted of making converts of several Tatar Chiefs, notably of one whom they styled Prester or Presbyter John. A very singular letter addressed to Alexius Comnenus has been ascribed to this fabled prince, but Mr Layard reasonably suspects that it was the handiwork either of a Chaldæan missionary, or of some imaginative ecclesiastic who had visited the East.

It commences in this strain: 'Prester John, by the Grace of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, the king of kings, to Alexius Comnenus, the Governor of Constantinople, health and a happy end.' After inquiring if Alexius were acquainted with the true faith, the writer extols his own greatness and excellence. He calls himself a 'devout Christian,' and declares that he had made a vow to rescue with a great army 'the sepulchre of our Lord' from the infidels. 'Our magnificence,' he continues, 'ruleth over the Three Indies, and our territories stretch beyond the furthestmost India, in which resteth the body of the blessed Apostle Thomas.' 'Seventy-two provinces obey us, a few of which are Christian provinces, and each hath its own king. And all their kings are our tributaries. In our territories are found elephants, dromedaries, and camels, and almost every kind of beast that is under heaven. Our dominions flow with milk and honey. In one portion of our territories no poisons can harm; in another grow all kinds of pepper; and a third is so thick with groves that it resembleth a forest, and is full of serpents in every part. There is also a sandy sea without water. Three days' journey from this sea, there are

mountains from which descend rivers of stones'—evidently, alluding to glaciers and moraines. Beyond a certain river dwelt the Ten Tribes, and also Salamanders. 'These worms,' it is written, 'can only live in fire, and make a skin around them as the silkworm.' Their cocoons were spun by ladies and woven into cloth, which could only be cleansed in a bright fire.

¶ In war time the army was preceded by thirteen great crosses of gold, ornamented with gems. On ordinary occasions Prester John was content with a simple cross, and a vase filled with gold pieces. Once a year he made a pilgrimage to the tomb of the prophet Daniel in Babylon. His palace was fire-proof, was built of ebony and shittim woods, and was full of marvellous objects. His bed was made of sapphire, and he possessed 'most beautiful wives,' but, unfortunately, their number is not mentioned. Thirty thousand persons, exclusive of casual guests, were fed daily at his charge, while he himself was served by seven kings, sixty-five dukes, and three hundred and sixty-five counts. On his right hand there sat every day at dinner twelve archbishops, and on his left twenty bishops, in addition to the Patriarch of St Thomas, the Protopapas of Salmas, and the Archiprotopapas of Susa. The abbots who officiated in his private chapel were of the same number as the days in the year. His butler was a primate and also a king; his steward, an archbishop and a king; his chamberlain, a bishop and a king; his mareschal, an archimandrite and a king; and his head cook, an abbot and a king. 'But,' the voracious writer modestly remarks, 'we assume an inferior rank, and a more humble name, that we may prove our great humility.'

In the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1872, it is pointed out that the Prester John of William de Rubruquis was a different person from the Prester John of Marco Polo—the one being Kushloulk, the Naiman, and the other Ouang Khan, the Kerait, both of them contemporaries of Chinghiz; while the genuine

Presbyter was Gour Khan, the Kara Khitayan, who certainly never professed Christianity, but whose name, softened to Your Khan, was confounded by the Syrian priests with Juchanan, or Johannes.

Describing the progress of the Nestorians under the Moghul Empire, Gibbon remarks that they 'overleaped the limits which had confined the ambition and curiosity both of the Greeks and Persians. The missionaries of Balch and Samarkand pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving Tatar, and insinuated themselves into the camps and villages of Imaus and the banks of the Selinga. They exposed a metaphysical creed to those illiterate shepherds; to those sanguinary warriors they recommended humanity and repose. Yet a Khan, whose power they vainly magnified, is said to have received at their hands the rites of baptism, and even of ordination; and the famous *Prester* or *Presbyter* John has long amused the credulity of Europe. The royal convert was indulged in the use of a portable altar; but he despatched an embassy to the Patriarch to inquire how, in the season of Lent, he should abstain from animal food, and how he might celebrate the Eucharist in a desert that produced neither corn nor wine.'

Colonel Yule explains the myth in his usual clear and explicit manner. A Syrian Bishop of Gabala who had been despatched about the middle of the 12th century by the king of Armenia to Pope Eugene III., informed that Pontiff that in the far East a Nestorian king and priest named John, who was descended from one of the Three Wise Men, had taken Ecbatana from the king of Persia and was on the march to the deliverance of Jerusalem, when his progress was stopped by the Tigris. From this source sprang the ridiculous stories about Prester John and his wide-spread dominions. In reality this mythical personage was simply the Headman of a pastoral tribe of Nestorian Christians, whose pastures were a mountain-side. On





by the First Council of Ephesus, abdicated his see, A. D. 435. After enduring much subsequent persecution, he died in Egypt, A. D. 451, but his heresy, though banished from the Roman Empire, found support and encouragement in Persia, where his exiled adherents were welcomed as 'victims and enemies of the tyrant'—Justinian.

'The ecclesiastical institutions of the Nestorian Christians,' the historian continues, 'were distinguished by a liberal principle of reason, or at least of policy : the austerity of the cloister was relaxed, and gradually forgotten ; houses of charity were endowed for the education of orphans and foundlings ; the law of celibacy, so forcibly recommended to the Greeks and Latins, was disregarded by the Persian clergy ; and the number of the elect was multiplied by the public and reiterated nuptials of the priests, the bishops, and even the patriarch himself. To this standard of natural and religious freedom, myriads of fugitives resorted from all the provinces of the Eastern Empire ; the narrow bigotry of Justinian was punished by the emigration of his most industrious subjects ; they transported into Persia the arts both of peace and war ; and those who deserved the favour, were promoted in the service of a discerning monarch' (Nousheerwan).

Christianity had penetrated into Khorassan and Bactria at a very early period, and in the sixth century a Metropolitan see was established at Samarkand. It was from Samarkand that the Chaldæan Patriarch obtained his information regarding the progress of the Northern Tatar hordes, and startled the Khalif and his courtiers by reading aloud in open divan a letter addressed to him by the Archbishop of that distant see. 'A people numerous as the locust-cloud had burst from the mountains between Thibet and Khotan, and were pouring down upon the fertile plains of Kashgar. They were commanded by seven kings, each at the head of 70,000 horsemen. The war...

rires were as swarthy as Indians. They used no water in their ablutions : nor did they cut their hair. They were most skilful archers, and were content with simple and frugal fare. Their horses were fed upon meat.' This last statement, however, was too much for the credulity of the audience, until one who had travelled into foreign parts, averred, from his personal observations, that in Arabia both raw meat and fried fish were given to horses.

Under the Moghul Empire it was not an uncommon thing for Tatar chiefs to take to themselves Christian wives, who were permitted to bring up their children in their own faith, and one of the numerous wives of Chinghiz himself is said to have been a Nestorian heretic. In the early part of the 14th century, no fewer than twenty-five Archbishops recognized the Patriarch of Babylon as the Head of the Eastern Church, and those who were too remote to give a personal account of their stewardship, sent in a written report every sixth year. As the Metropolitan sees were placed at such distant points as Merv, Herat, Seistan, Balkh, Samarkand, Kashgar, and Almalik, and as the Patriarch himself was at one time at Seleucia, at another at Ctesiphon, and at yet another at Baghdad, it is evident that his supervision must have been rather nominal than real and practical. For all that, Mosheim attests that 'to the lasting honour of the Nestorian sect, they, of all the Christian societies established in the East, have preserved themselves most free from the numberless superstitions which have found their way into the Greek and Latin Churches.'

After the downfall of the Khalifat, the Chaldaeans, as they have since been called, were cruelly persecuted by the Tatars, greatly at the instigation of the Romanist missionaries. Their churches were utterly destroyed by Timour Lung, who put to the sword, regardless of age or sex, all who were unable to escape into the mountains of Koordistan. Save only in that

wild and barbarous region few traces of the Nestorian churches have survived since the commencement of the 15th century, —the modern Assyrians, or Chaldæans, repudiating all connection with the Nestorian heresy.

According to Mr Layard, they deny the intermediate state of purgatory, neither do they worship the Virgin Mary. The Cross, indeed, is set up in their churches, and they sign themselves by the figure of faith, but this is to be understood merely as a token of religious brotherhood. The doctrine of transubstantiation they reject altogether, and the practice of auricular confession has fallen into desuetude. The clergy are divided into eight grades, of which the five lower are permitted to marry. One hundred and fifty-two days are set apart in every year, on which abstinence from animal food is rigidly enjoined, and the religious day, whether as regards fasts or festivals, is measured from sunset to sunset. The Patriarch lives solely on milk and vegetables, and can be chosen only from one family, and his name is always Shamoun, or Simon.

At different times, indeed, in the fourteenth century, Romanist Friars succeeded in reaching China, or Cathay, after traversing the deserts and oases of Central Asia, but it was with fear and trembling; and in 1339, William of Modena, a merchant, died for the faith that was in him, in company with certain friars, at Almalik on the Ili. Shortly afterwards both missionaries and merchants disappeared from the scene. Friars, and even bishops, were despatched from Avignon, but, as Colonel Yule expresses it, 'they go forth into the darkness and are heard of no more. . . Islam has recovered its ground, and extended its grasp over Middle Asia, and the Nestorian Christianity, which once prevailed there, is rapidly vanishing, and leaving its traces only in some strange parodies of church ritual, which are found twined into the worship of Tibetan Lamas, like the cabin gildings and mir-



Failing in every attempt to obtain a private audience, Rasheed one morning ascended a mound immediately beneath the prince's windows, and intoned his devotional exercises in so loud a voice that he disturbed the royal slumbers. He was accordingly seized and led before the Khan, to whom he announced the mission he had received from his father, and spoke with such earnest eloquence that all who heard him resolved instantly to become followers of the prophet. One alone held out and refused to change his religion, unless the Sheikh succeeded in throwing to the ground the most famous wrestler in Kashgar. The Khan at first refused to suffer such a test to be applied, until he was over-ruled by the Sheikh himself, who expressed his readiness to encounter the athlete. As soon as these strange combatants were placed face to face, the Sheikh dealt his antagonist a tremendous blow on the stomach, and laid him breathless at his feet. Such an argument was irresistible. The prostrate wrestler was the first to profess his faith in Allah, and in Mohammed the prophet of Allah, and his example was eagerly followed by the Khan and all the courtiers.

This Chief subsequently laid claim to the whole of Mawaralnahr, by virtue of his descent from Chagatai, and experienced little difficulty in enforcing his pretensions. The governor of the province, whose chief city was Kesh, fled to Khorassan, but his nephew boldly repaired to the Khan's camp, and so thoroughly ingratiated himself in that prince's favour, that he was appointed successor to his fugitive uncle. The nephew was Timour Lung, commonly called Timour Beg, or Timour the Tatar.

Fortunate in most things, Chagatai had the further good fortune to possess a Prime Minister of remarkable ability and great worth of character, on whom he bestowed his daughter in marriage. Karachar Nuyan—so was he called—belonged to the tribe of Berlas, which he induced to settle in the immediate

neighbourhood of Kesh, a town situated about thirty miles to the south of Samarkand. His grandson Taragai, or Tourghai, resigned the hereditary office of Commander-in-chief of the forces of Mawaralnahr, and devoted himself to the duties of a pastoral and patriarchal life. This wise and unambitious man is represented as being distinguished for his learning and liberality, as well as for his great wealth in sheep and goats, cattle and servants. His chief treasure, however, was his beautiful and virtuous wife, Tekina Khatoun, who, on the 8th April, 1336, made him the happy father of a man-child. This excellent couple,—whose residence was in a suburban village, almost contiguous to Kesh, appropriately named Shuhr-i-Subz, or the City of Verdure,—carried the infant to the pious Sheikh Stems-ood-deen, whom they found engaged, as usual, in the study of the Koran.


It so chanced that the Skeikh was reading the 67th chapter, and had just reached the verse wherein it is asked, 'Are you sure that He who dwelleth in Heaven will not cause the earth to swallow you up? And behold it *shall shake* (tamurou).' Turning to his visitors the holy man said, in prophetic tones, 'We have named your son Timour: ' but in after life this babe enjoyed the titles of Sultan (Lord), Kamran (successful), Ameer (commander), Kootb-ood-deem (polestar of the faith), Timour (it shall shake), Kourkhan or Gourgagan (son-in-law of a prince, or simply Great Lord), Sahib Keraun (master of the grand conjunctions).

When only seven years of age, the child was sent to school, and made such rapid progress that at the age of nine he was taught the daily service of the mosque, and habitually read the 91st chapter, called the Sun. Timour asserts of himself that he was barely twelve when he first became prescient of the greatness to which he was predestined, and that from that time he began to assume a dignified and even haughty deportment. He

had scarce attained his eighteenth year when he was puffed up with vanity and conceit, passing his time on horseback and in hunting, or in playing at chess—not unfrequently, however, reading the Koran. Suddenly he was seized with a fit of repentance, which caused him to renounce even the pastime of chess as too absorbing, and to vow that he would never willingly do injury to any living being. Indeed, so tender-hearted did he become, that it grieved him to tread upon an ant. This violent reformation was naturally of brief duration, for on his father presenting him in the following year with a separate establishment, his youthful ambition was rekindled, and the value of human life faded away.

Shortly afterwards he was sent by his father on a business mission to Ameer Kourgan, a powerful chief, whose favour he so completely gained, that the Ameer gave him to wife his grand-daughter Aljaz Tourkan Aga. This lady faithfully and courageously accompanied her warlike lord in his most perilous and toilsome expeditions, and cheerfully shared the dangers and privations of the early part of his career. At that time Mawaralnahr was held in thralldom by Ameer Kazan Sultan, who had hitherto succeeded in suppressing every attempt to throw off his heavy yoke. At last, however, he was defeated, made prisoner, and subsequently put to death by Ameer Kourgan, who finally overcame the opposition of the other chiefs, Timour himself intriguing against him—and assumed absolute dominion over Mawaralnahr.

In the year 1358, Timour greatly distinguished himself in a brief campaign against the Heratees, and about this time was presented by Sheikh Zyn Addeen Shady, with a cornelian engraved with the Persian phrase, *Rasty va Rousty*—Righteousness and Salvation—which he caused to be set as a seal-ring, and adopted as his motto. The Ameer next resolved upon the conquest of Khwarezm, in which he was for some time thwarted





without further molestation. Worn out with fatigue and thirst, they at length reached a well, and were regaled by a shepherd with goat's flesh, over which they enjoyed themselves exceedingly.

Their wanderings lasted for a whole month, at the end of which they were captured by some roving Toorkomans, who confined Timour and his wife for sixty-two days in a filthy cow-house, swarming with vermin. From this loathsome duress, Timour's courage and patient endurance ultimately wrought their deliverance, though his troubles were yet far from being ended. For many months he roamed to and fro over the wilderness, at one time gathering together adherents, and at another reduced to the verge of starvation. His moral nature, however, gained strength in the school of adversity, and his long career of triumph was made easier by his terrible experiences in the deserts of Khwarezm and Mawaralnahr. In touching language, he relates how he was recognized by three chiefs at the head of a party of seventy horsemen, who had gone forth in search of him. 'When their eyes fell upon me,' he writes, 'they were overwhelmed with joy, and they alighted from their horses, and they came and bent their knees, and they kissed my stirrup. I also came down from my horse, and took each of them in my arms. And I put my turban on the head of one chief, and my girdle, rich in jewels and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of another; and the third I clothed in my own coat. And they wept, and I wept also: and the hour of prayer had arrived, and we prayed with tranquil minds. We then mounted and came to my encampment, where we remained for some time: I assembled my principal people and gave a feast, and, having killed a quantity of game, we had abundance of meat, for which we returned thanks to God.'

For seven years Timour contended with varying fortune against the Jetes and Toorkomans. In Seistan he sustained a

terrible defeat, and was severely wounded in the arm and foot, and lamed for life. From this misadventure he acquired the posthumous epithet of 'Timour-'lene,' or 'lung'—the lame Timour—which was first applied to him about the middle of the 15th century, by his Syrian biographer Ahmed Ben Arab-shah, who hated and maligned him as much as he was praised and flattered by Sheref-ood-deen Ali, of Yezd.

By 1362 Timour had collected a body of 3000 horsemen, with whom he defeated an army of 20,000 Jetes, and in the following year, with 6000 men, routed 30,000 of the enemy, commanded by Toghlouk's son Alyas Khwajeh. This incompetent prince succeeded his father, but could not prevent the victorious Timour from entering Samarkand. Shortly afterwards the Jetes again crossed the Syhoon or Syr, and only escaped annihilation through the jealousy of Timour's brother-in-law, Ameer Hosein. Between these two kinsmen there ensued a long and deadly struggle, which ended in the discomfiture and death of the latter.

All obstacles being now removed out of his path, Timour was placed on the throne in the city of Balkh—A. D. 1369, and in the 34th year of his age—by four of the most revered Syuds, and all the people held up their hands and prayed for his prosperity. Thence he marched to Samarkand, which he made his capital, though for many years he affected to govern by the title of Ameer, and as the vicegerent of Sultan Mohammed Khan, the lineal descendant of Chagatai, but who was nothing more than a submissive pageant.

The next few years were devoted by Timour to the consolidation of his authority, the establishment of order, the organization of the army, and the extirpation of idolatry and Christianity. Then returned the old dreams of conquest and empire, veiled under the thin pretence of promoting the welfare of foreign lands and their peoples. Accordingly, in 1378, he

over-ran Khwarezm, sacked and destroyed Urghunj, and removed the inhabitants to Kesh. He next subdued Khorassan and Mazanderan, Azerbaijan and Georgia—Candahar and Seistan being soon afterwards added to his dominions. In 1387 Ispahan received the conqueror within its walls, but in the night, some of his barbarians being slain in a riot, a general massacre ensued. He thence proceeded to Shiraz, and summoning to his presence the poet Hafiz, asked him how he dared to dispose of his two finest cities, Samarkand and Bokhara, which he had said, in a well-known couplet, he would give for the mole on the cheek of his mistress. ‘Can the gifts of Hafiz ever impoverish Timour?’ was the happy reply, rewarded by munificent largesses. Many anecdotes, indeed, are related of Timour’s occasional affability and kindness of nature, which prove no more than that he was not a ‘perfect monster,’ but at times subject to capricious impulses that could be gratified without pain to his fellow-men.

From Shiraz the path of victory led to the Persian Gulf, to Ormuz and to Baghdad, and ‘the whole course of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the mouth to the sources of those rivers, was reduced to his obedience.’ Crossing the Syr Darya at Khojend, he passed the latter part of 1390 at Tashkend, where he was attacked by a serious illness. He was again in the field, however, at the commencement of 1391, and marched for three weeks across the steppes to the north of the Aral. Sometime in May he reached the western bank of the Yaik or Ural river, and was suddenly confronted by the countless horsemen of the Kipchak hordes. The struggle was fierce and protracted, but in the end the fortune of Timour turned the scale, and the enemy broke and fled in every direction.

Delighted with the verdure of the soil, and the abundance of game, Timour lingered on the banks of the Volga till the month of July, when he once more set his face to the eastward,

and entered Samarkand at the close of the year, bringing in his train immense flocks and herds of sheep, cattle, horses, and camels, with troops of prisoners. But, though defeated, the Kipchaks were by no means subdued. Barely three years elapsed before Tokatmish, or Toktamish, rushed down through the Gates of Derbend in the hope of cutting off Timour's army while entangled in the mountains of Georgia. This time the Kipchaks were overthrown with still greater slaughter than in the former campaign, and their prince fled to Siberia. All Muscovy was over-run to the banks of the Dnieper, and the inhabitants of Moscow only deemed themselves safe when the news arrived that the eastern barbarians had recrossed the Caucasus. On a plain in Georgia the victorious army held high festival, nor was it until 1396 that it again drank of the waters of the Zarafshan.

'Superb mosques and palaces,' says Mr Clements Markham, 'were built at Samarkand and Kesh, gardens were laid out full of fragrant flowers, marble was transported from Azerbaijan, and porcelain to adorn the chambers from the distant empire of China.' The two years thus devoted to the arts of peace were followed by the subjugation of the Punjab and Hindostan, the massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi, and the foundation of the Moghul Empire in India.

On his return to Samarkand in 1399, Timour commenced the erection of a magnificent mosque, whose vaulted roof was sustained by 480 columns of hewn stone. The doors were of brass, while the walls were decorated with inscriptions in relief. At each of the four corners rose a lofty minaret, but the daily spectacle of ninety Indian elephants, employed in transporting stone from the quarries, may be supposed to have impressed his subjects with greater awe and admiration than the architectural wonders they were not yet qualified to appreciate.


Neither did Timour himself indulge for more than a few

months in repose from war and bloodshed. The first year of the 15th century beheld him in the plains of Syria, and the possession of Aleppo crowned one of the greatest victories he had yet achieved. Inviting the doctors of the law to a personal conference, Timour discussed with them various religious problems of a delicate nature, and insisted upon his own aversion from war and love of clemency, while—in the words of Gibbon—‘the streets of Aleppo streamed with blood, and re-echoed with the cries of mothers and children, with the shrieks of violated virgins. The rich plunder that was abandoned to his soldiers might stimulate their avarice, but the cruelty was enforced by the peremptory command of producing an adequate number of heads, which, according to his custom, were curiously piled in columns and pyramids: the Moguls celebrated the feast of victory, while the surviving Moslems passed the night in tears and in chains.’

From Aleppo, Timour marched against Damascus, and narrowly escaped a defeat by an army from Egypt. Damascus fell into his hands from the foolish confidence placed in his honour by the inhabitants, who fondly imagined that the Moghul would respect the truce demanded by himself. His perfidy he sought to justify as caused by the duty of avenging the death of Hosein, the grandson of Mohammed. ‘A family which had given honourable burial to the head of Hosein, and a colony of artificers whom he sent to labour at Samarkand, were alone reserved in the general massacre; and, after a period of seven centuries, Damascus was reduced to ashes, because a Tatar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab.’ The massacre of the citizens of Damascus makes a prominent figure in Marlow’s bombastic drama entitled ‘Tamburlaine the Greate, who, from the state of a Shepherd in Scythia, by his rare and wonderful conquests, became a most puissant and mighty Monarge.’

Timour's ferocity seems in this instance to have been aggravated by fanaticism. He had espoused the traditions of the Sheeahs, or Schismatics, who repudiate the first three successors of Mohammed recognized by the Soonees, or orthodox Moslemin. The former are now confined to the Persians and a considerable minority of the Mussulman population of India, while the latter comprise the entire Mohammedan community, with those two exceptions. The schism of the Sheeahs arose in this way. On the death of the Prophet, the rightful successor would have been Abou Taleb's son Ali, the husband of his daughter Fatima. Aboubekr's daughter, Ayestha, the Prophet's widow, was, however, the deadly enemy of Ali, whose lofty spirit and independent bearing were, besides, distasteful to the Koreish, jealous rivals of the tribe of Hashem to which he belonged. Mohammed dying without naming a successor, Aboubekr was chosen to rule in his stead. Two years later, Aboubekr, on his death-bed, bequeathed his power to Omar, who fell by the hand of an assassin, but not before he had expressed his wish that the choice of a successor should be left to the six surviving 'Companions' of the Prophet. These elected Othman, Mohammed's secretary, and it was not until his death, or twenty-four years after that of the Prophet, that Ali was permitted to ascend the throne. The Sheeahs hold that his three predecessors were usurpers, and no true Persian will bear the name of Aboubekr, Omar, or Othman.

The pathetic fate of Ali's sons Hassan and Hosein is familiar to all readers of Gibbon, and to the present day the anniversary of Hosein's death, on the plain of Kerbela, gives rise to the most extravagant demonstrations of grief and fury. Ali, his two sons, and Hosein's lineal descendants to the ninth generation, constitute the Twelve Imams, of whom two are still specially revered by the Persians. These were Ali Reza, the eighth Imam, sometimes called Morteza, or, The Approved,



who died at Tous, A. D. 818, as some affirm, poisoned by the orders of Haroun Al Rasheed. He was buried at Meshed, and a magnificent tomb erected over his remains, which is still visited by numerous pilgrims. Even the great Shah Abbas once proceeded to Meshed on foot from Ispahan, in order to offer up his devotions at this tomb, an achievement that can only be appreciated by those who understand the antipathy of every Oriental to any sort of pedestrian exercise. Even more famous was the twelfth and last of the Imams, Abou'lkazem Mohammed Mehdi, who mysteriously disappeared, A. D. 879, and is believed to have been, like Enoch, translated to Paradise without passing through the intermediate stage of dissolution.

Though originally separating upon a point of political rather than doctrinal importance, the Sheeahs and Soonees still detest each other with intense, implacable hatred. The former have been driven by their comparative weakness to arrant hypocrisy, and in the presence of their enemies, when in superior force, will dissemble their sectarianism, and affect to be orthodox. This dissimulation, according to Dr Wolff, is enjoined as a duty, and goes by the name of Takeeah. They are also less rigid than the Soonees in moral observances, and indulge in wine with little reservation or disguise. In prayer their arms hang down by their sides, instead of being crossed on their breast. They also wear green slippers, and a turban of a particular shape, and practise various other petty distinctions, cleverly ridiculed in Moore's 'Twopenny Post Bag,' Letter VI. Though generally known as Sheeahs, they prefer to be called Adaleeahs, or Followers of Justice, but are regarded by the Soonees as worse even than Christians, while the Toorkomans, in selling them as slaves, deny that they transgress the Koran, which prohibits true Believers from reducing their brethren to servitude.

Timour's crowning victory was now at hand. On the 28th July, 1402, he encountered with a far greater force, the im-

mense army of Sultan Bayazid, or Bajazet, in the plains round the city of Angora, and gained a complete victory. After displaying, in vain, both military skill and personal valour, Bayazid beheld the irremediable rout of his 400,000 trained warriors, and was himself taken prisoner while fleeing from the fatal field. Timour's grandson, Meerza Mohammed Sooltan, with a chosen body of horse, followed up this brilliant success. Boursa was pillaged and burnt to the ground, 'and the Mogul squadrons were only stopped by the waves of the Propontia.' Smyrna was taken by Timour himself after a gallant resistance, and 'all that breathed were put to the sword.'

There seems no reason to doubt that the captive Sultan was at first treated with the consideration due to his exalted rank and pitiable reverse of fortune. It is more than probable that he would even have been restored to power had he borne himself with less arrogance, and abstained from idle attempts to escape from confinement. To destroy all hope of immediate deliverance, and to facilitate his conveyance to Samarkand, Timour placed his royal captive on a Moghul cart fenced round with iron bars, but the sense of humiliation and disappointment speedily released the unhappy Sultan from the shame and misery of his situation. Within nine months after the overthrow of his empire at Angora, Bayazid was carried off by an apoplectic stroke at Akshuhr—White Town—in Anatolia, and his body was interred with royal honours in the Mausoleum built by himself at Boursa.

His eldest son Soliman was confirmed in his government of Roumania, while a patent in red ink bestowed upon Bayazid's younger son, Mousa, the province of Anatolia. The Byzantine emperor now avowed allegiance to the victorious Tatar, and engaged to pay an annual tribute in token of subjection. Finally, the Sultan of Egypt, trembling for his rich possessions, acknowledged the supremacy of the Moghul conqueror, and



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sent him a peace-offering of nine ostriches and a giraffe. The winter of 1403 was passed on the banks of the Araxes, but in the following spring Timour set out on his return to Samarkand, after an absence of four years and nine months. His sovereign power now extended, at least in name, from the western boundary of China to the Mediterranean and the Hellespont, and from the northernmost extremity of the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, Egypt and Hindostan being also his tributaries.



with diamonds. Shawls, cloths, and stuffs, were distributed among the guests, and in the nuptial chamber the astronomers placed the horoscope of the happy and lucky moment of the espousal.' They failed, however, to foresee, or at least to predict, the early death of the bridegroom, Timour's most beloved and favourite son.

Of the savage debauchery that testified to the power and wealth of the Tatar monarch on the conclusion of his Western campaigns, a picturesque description is given in Mr Markham's vigorous translation of the 'Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarkand.' The battle of Angora had been witnessed by two Spanish knights, Pelayode Sotomayor and Fernando de Palazuelos, ambassadors from Henry III. of Castile, to the formidable Timour. On their return they were accompanied by a Tatar envoy, Mohammed Al Kazi, charged to present the Spanish monarch with some costly jewels, and—as a more delicate attention—with several beautiful women, among whom were two Christian ladies found in the harem of the captive Bayazid, the one, Angelina, daughter of Count John of Hungary, the other a Greek lady named Maria.

On the 22nd May, 1403, Mohammed Al Kazi sailed from Seville for Constantinople, in company with Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, a knight of Madrid, Gomez de Salazar, and Fray Alonzo Paez de Santa Maria, a Master of Theology. From Europe the travellers entered Asia at Trebizond, whence they proceeded by Tabriz, Teheran, Damghan, and Nishapoor, to Meshed, where they admired the tomb of the Imam Ali Reza, which was at that time covered with silver gilt. They also observed that posting-houses were established from Khorassan to Samarkand, at some of which as many as two hundred horses were kept, while couriers were travelling to and fro day and night. In the desert, large staging stations were built and



the innermost wall was partly cultivated, partly built upon.

The next place was Termit, the modern Termedh, a very large and populous city, unconfined by walls, and surrounded by gardens and streams of water. The river Oxus, or Jyhoon, was regarded by the Spaniards as 'one of the rivers which flow from Paradise,' and that view is supported by the testimony of Ibn Batuta, and of all Mussulman writers of that age. They might also boast that they were the first and the last Europeans who have ever passed through the Kohluga, or Iron Gate, and their description tallies very closely with that given by Hiouen Tsang, who traversed the defile about A. D. 630, on his way from Samarkand to Balkh.

'The journey,' writes the Buddhist pilgrim, 'was rugged and stony; the paths up the gorges ran along the verge of precipices; no village was met with, nor was there water, or any green thing. After three days' journey among these mountains in a south-west direction, the traveller entered the pass called the Iron Gate. This is a gorge between two mountains, which rise parallel to each other, right and left, to a prodigious height. Nothing divides them but the path, which is extremely narrow and precipitous. The two mountains form on either hand mighty walls of stone of an iron hue. The pass is closed by folding gates clamped with iron, and to the gates are attached a number of iron bells. From these circumstances, and from the difficulty and strength of the pass, it has got the name it bears.'

In Clavijo's time the iron gates had been removed, and the place had degenerated into a Custom House, at which merchants from India paid duty upon their goods. The road through this pass has long since been disused, caravans now preferring to turn the flank of the Karategeen mountains and travel by way of Karshee.

The level plain round Kesh, or Shuhr-i-Subz, contained

many villages with well-watered pastures, and was 'a very beautiful, bright, well-peopled country,' full of corn-fields, vineyards, cotton plantations, melon grounds, and groves of fruit-trees. The town was surrounded by a wall of earth, with a deep moat all round traversed by draw-bridges. It boasted of several mosques, and one superior to all the rest was being erected over the remains of Timour's father, and of his eldest son Jehangheer, who died in 1372, in the twentieth year of his age. 'This mosque, with its chapels, was very rich and beautifully ornamented in blue and gold, and within it there was a large court with trees and ponds of water. In this mosque the lord gives twenty boiled sheep every day, for the souls of his father and son, which lie buried here.'

There was also a magnificent palace in progress, which had been commenced twenty years previously and was not yet finished. It was entered by a long gallery with a lofty gateway, and on each side were small open recesses, paved and lined with glazed tiles arranged in pleasing patterns. These were the rooms in which the attendants waited. Over the doorway of the reception hall was placed the figure of a lion and the sun—the arms of Persia—whence Clavijo infers that this portion of the building must have been erected previous to the reign of Timour, whose emblem was three noughts or circles, two above and one below. Many of the chambers displayed ornamental work in gold and blue and other colours, executed with wonderful taste. Especially resplendent was the apartment reserved for festal occasions and the society of his wives, which looked out upon spacious pleasure-grounds shaded by trees and cooled by fountains.

Immediately after their arrival at Samarkand the ambassadors were conducted to the royal palace situated outside the walls of the Tatar capital, and at once ushered into the presence of the 'mighty hunter before the Lord.' 'Timour was seated

in a portal, in front of the entrance of a beautiful palace; and he was sitting on the ground. Before him there was a fountain, which threw up the water very high, and in it there were some red apples. The lord was seated cross-legged, on silken embroidered carpets, amongst round pillows. He was dressed in a robe of silk, with a high hat on his head, on the top of which there was a spinal ruby, with pearls and precious stones round it.'

As soon as the ambassadors came within sight of the monarch, they bent the knee and bowed low, with their arms crossed on their breast. They then advanced a little, and repeated this act of obeisance. Coming yet a little nearer, they knelt down, and remained in that attitude until Timour graciously bade them arise and approach without fear. His eyesight was very bad, and 'the eyelids had fallen down entirely.'

At table they were placed by the master of the ceremonies below the ambassador from Cathay, but Timour called them to a higher seat, and the slighted envoy was informed that 'the lord had ordered that those who were ambassadors from the King of Spain, his son and friend, should sit above him; and that he who was the ambassador from a thief and a bad man, his enemy, should sit below them.'


'As soon as these ambassadors, and many others who had come from distant countries, were seated in order, they brought much meat, boiled, roasted, and dressed in other ways, and roasted horses; and they placed these sheep and horses on very large round pieces of stamped leather. When the lord called for meat, the people dragged it to him on these pieces of leather, so great was its weight; and as soon as it was within twenty paces of him, the carvers came, who cut it up, kneeling on the leather. They cut it in pieces, and put the pieces in basins of gold and silver, earthenware and glass, and porcelain, which is very scarce and precious. The most honourable piece was a

haunch of the horse, with the loin, but without the leg, and they placed parts of it in ten cups of gold and silver.

‘They also cut up the haunches of the sheep. They then put pieces of the tripes of the horses, about the size of a man’s fist, into the cups, and entire sheep’s heads, and in this way they made many dishes. When they had made sufficient, they placed them in rows. Then some men came with soup, and they sprinkled salt over it and put a little into each dish as sauce; and they took some very thin cakes of corn, doubled them four times, and placed one over each cup or basin of meat. As soon as this was done, the Meerzas and courtiers of the lord took these basins, one holding each side, and one helping behind (for a single man could not lift them), and placed them before the lord and the ambassadors, and the knights, who were there; and the lord sent the ambassadors two basins from those which were placed before him as a mark of favour. When this food was taken away, more was brought; and it is the custom to take this food which is given to them, to their lodgings, and if they do not do so, it is taken as an affront; and so much of this food was brought that it was quite wonderful. . . . .

‘When the roast and boiled meats were done with, they brought meats dressed in various other ways, and balls of forced meat; and after that there came fruit, melons, grapes, and nectarines; and they gave them drink out of silver and golden jugs, particularly sugar and cream, a pleasant beverage which they make in summer time.’

Timour had several palaces and gardens within an easy distance of Samarkand, and he entertained the Spanish ambassadors at one named Dilkoosha, or Heart’s Delight, and at another called the Bagh-i-Chenar, or Plane-tree Garden. In the latter ‘there were many tents, and awnings of red cloth and of various coloured silks, some embroidered in various ways, and others plain. In the centre of the garden there was a very





beautiful house, built in the shape of a cross, and very richly adorned with ornaments. In the middle of it there were three chambers for placing beds and carpets in, and the walls were covered with glazed tiles.

‘Opposite the entrance, in the largest of the chambers, there was a silver gilt table as high as a man, and three arms broad, on the top of which there was a bed of silk cloths, embroidered with gold, placed one on the top of the other, and here the lord was seated. The walls were hung with rose-coloured silk cloths, ornamented with plates of silver gilt, set with emeralds, pearls, and other precious stones, tastefully arranged. Above these ornaments there were pieces of silk, a *palm* broad, whence hung tassels of various colours, and the wind moved them backwards and forwards, which caused a very pretty effect. Before the great arch which formed the entrance to the chamber there were ornaments of the same kind, and silk cloths raised up by spear poles, and kept together by silken cords, with large tassels which came down to the ground.

‘The other chambers were furnished in the same way, and on the floors there were carpets and rush mats. In the centre of the house, opposite the door, there were two gold tables, each standing on four legs, and the table and legs were all in one. They were each five *palmas* long, and three broad; and seven golden phials stood upon them, two of which were set with large pearls, emeralds, and turquoises, and each one had a ruby near the mouth. There were also six round golden cups, one of which was set with large, round, clear pearls inside, and in the centre of it was a ruby, two fingers broad, and of a brilliant colour.’

It must not be supposed, however, that these elegant and artistic objects were the handiwork of the Tatars. Such articles as were not spoils of war, were wrought by the artificers whom Timour carried into captivity from more settled and



pretence. 'They drink from one cup, once or twice, and if they are called upon to drink by their love of the lord, or by the lord's head, they must drink it all at one pull, without leaving a drop. They call the man who drinks the most wine "Bahadoor," which is as much as to say "a valorous man;" and he who does not drink is made to do so, although he does not wish it.' Timour even sent a jug of wine to the ambassadors before they set out from their own quarters, 'so that they might arrive in a jovial mood.'

The preliminary meal was substantial, and 'consisted of many roasted horses, boiled and roasted sheep, and rice cooked in their mode.' After every one's hunger was satisfied a Meerza made his appearance with a silver basin full of silver coins, which he scattered over the company. The ambassadors were then clothed in robes of honour, and acknowledged the royal favour by thrice bending the knee.

At these feasts the crowd was so great that the guards had to clear a path for the Spaniards, 'and the dust was such that people's faces and clothes were all one colour.' In the vast plain that stretched out in front of this palace, 20,000 persons were assembled within the space of three or four days, all dwelling in tents. 'In this horde there are always butchers, and cooks who sell cooked sheep, and others who sell fruit and barley, and bakers who sell bread. Every division of the horde is provided with all that the troops require, and they are arranged in streets. There are even baths and bath-men in the horde, who pitch their tents, and make their huts for hot baths with boilers for heating the water, and all that they require; and as each man arrived, he was shown his station.'

The Spaniards appear to have been deeply impressed with the splendour of the spacious awnings made of white linen cloth relieved by cloths of many colours, and of great length and height, for the double purpose of acting as a screen against

ways the lord administered justice.' He was also impartial, and exercised the same severity towards the weak as towards the powerful. Certain provision dealers having asked too much for their goods were summarily executed, and likewise certain shoemakers, while fines were imposed upon others. 'The custom is that when a great man is put to death he is hanged; but the meaner sort are beheaded.' Whence it appeared that the Tatars differed from modern Mohammedans as to the peculiar consequences of death by strangulation.

According to Sheref-ood-deen, an amphitheatre covered in with carpets was erected on this occasion, in which masquerading of a very primitive character was exhibited. 'The women were dressed like goats, others like sheep, and fairies, and they ran after each other. The skimmers and butchers appeared like lions and foxes, and all other tradesmen contributed specimens of their skill.'


One day the ambassadors were invited to a carouse in a pavilion within an enclosure, of which the following description is given:—'One of the walls was of crimson cloth covered with embroidery of gold lace in many figures and patterns, which was very beautiful to look upon. This wall was higher than any of the others, and the entrance was shaped like an arch, with a vaulted covering above it; and the whole was embroidered in beautiful designs with gold lace; and the doors were of carpeting embroidered in the same way. On the top of the entrance there was a square tower with turrets, all made of cloth embroidered with gold; and the wall had turrets of embroidered cloth, all round it, at intervals. There were windows in the walls, with lattices made of silken cords, and these windows also had cloth shutters. Within the enclosure the tents were pitched, and they were very rich and beautiful. Close to this enclosure there was another, the walls of which were of white satin, with the entrance and windows the same as



meat brought in basins, there were other pieces on skins for those who wanted them.'

While Clavijo and his companions were at Samarkand, Jehangheer's son, Peer Mohammed, arrived from India, and they went to pay their respects to him. 'He had on a robe of blue satin, embroidered with golden wheels, some on the back, and others on the breast and sleeves. His hat was adorned with large pearls and precious stones, with a very brilliant ruby on the top; and the people who stood round him treated him with great reverence and ceremony. In front of him were two wrestlers, dressed in leathern doublets without sleeves; but they neither of them could throw the other. At last one of them threw the other and held him down for a long time; for they all said that if he got up the fall would not be counted.' Timour came forth about noon, and many games were played; jugglers exhibited much cleverness of sleight of hand; and trained elephants went through various performances. Three hundred jars of wine were then placed before the King, and also large skins full of cream into which had been put whole loaves of sugar.

When the guests were all duly ranged the chief Khanum made her appearance. 'She had on a robe of red silk, trimmed with gold lace, which was long and flowing, but without sleeves or any opening, except one to admit the head and two arm-holes. It had no waist, and fifteen ladies held up the skirts of it to enable her to walk. She had so much white lead on her face that it looked like paper; and this is put on to protect it from the sun, for when they travel in winter or summer all great ladies put this on their faces. She had a thin veil over her face, and a crested head-dress of red cloth, which hung some way down the back. This crest was very high, and was covered with large pearls, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones,



and it was embroidered with gold lace on the top of which there was a circle of gold set with pearls. On the top of all there was a little castle on which were three very large and brilliant rubies, surmounted by a tall plume of white feathers. One of these feathers hung down as low as the eyes, and they were secured by golden threads: and as they moved, they waved to and fro. Her hair, which was very black, hung down over her shoulders and they value black hair much more than any other colour.

She was accompanied by three hundred ladies, and an awning was carried over Dana supported by a lance, which was borne by a man. It was made of white silk, in the form of the wing of a peacock, and held over her to protect her from the sun. A number of eunuchs who guard the women walked before her, and in this way she came to the pavilion where the lord was, and sat down near him with all her ladies, and three ladies held her head-dress with their hands, that it might not fall to one side. Several other wives came and took their seats below the Khanum as likewise did the spouse of Peer Mohammed. Hard drinking in which the ladies took their part, went on both before and after dinner, and lasted all night.


The ambassadors were taken one day to see the Khanum's private tents. In the centre stood a cabinet made of gold, richly enamelled, as high as a man's breast. The top was flat, surrounded by small turrets in green and blue enamel, set with pearls and precious stones. On opening the door of the cabinet a shelf was seen on which were ranged numerous cups, and above these six golden balls covered with gems and pearls. At the foot of the cabinet was a small gold table, two *palmas* high, set with precious stones all round, and on the top a clear brilliant emerald. The length of this table was four *palmas*, and its width one and a half. In front of this rose a golden tree, whose trunk was big round as a man's leg, with many branches

and oak leaves. It was the height of a man, and overshadowed the table. The fruit consisted of rubies, emeralds, turquoises, sapphires, and fine pearls. Birds of enamelled gold and of many colours were perched upon the boughs, and pecked at the fruit with outstretched wings. Against the wall of the tent was placed a wooden table inlaid with silver gilt, and beside it a bed of rich silk, embroidered with golden leaves and flowers. The floor was covered with rich carpets of silk. Timour himself had a portable mosque, beautifully painted with gold and blue, which accompanied him in his most distant expeditions.

Among Timour's visitors about this time was the Khan of Badakhshan, who is called in this narrative 'the lord of Balaxia, which is a great city where rubies are found; and he came with a large troop of knights and followers. The ambassadors went to this lord of Balaxia, and asked him how he got the rubies; and he replied that near the city there was a mountain whence they brought them, and that every day they broke up a rock in search of them. He said that when they found a vein they got out the rubies skilfully by breaking the rock all round with chisels.'

Another tributary arrived from 'Aquivi,' for which Mr Markham suggests Akshce, but it was evidently some place near the modern Jerm, for the narrator adds that it is there 'they procure the blue mineral, and in the rock they find sapphires.' The distance of both Balaxia and Aquivi is estimated at ten days' journey from Samarkand on the route to India.

The 'blue mineral,' lajwuod, or lapis lazuli, obtained from a mine about 1500 feet up the side of a mountain in the Kokcha valley, was declared by Marco Polo to be 'the finest in the world,' and 'got in a vein like silver.' It is found, according to Captain Wood, in a black and white limestone, unstratified but much veined with coloured lines. The mountain is de-







century, though, even at the present day, the petty chiefs of Darwaz, Kulab, Shighnan, Wakhan, Chitral, Gilgit, Swat, and Balti, all lay claim to the Macedonian conqueror as their common ancestor. The city of Badakhshan has also passed away, the chief place in the province being at present Fyzabad.

The ruby mines no longer lie within the boundaries of Badakhshan, being situated to the north of the Panja, the recently accepted line of demarcation between the territories of the Khan of Bokhara and those of the Ameer of Afghanistan. The mines, situated about 1200 feet above the river, were formerly a royal monopoly, but have long since been exhausted. The late Moorad Bey, of Kunduz, on conquering this country, was so disgusted with the unproductiveness of the mines, that he ceased working them, and sold the miners as slaves. In 1866 a new mine was opened, but the rubies extracted were comparatively worthless.

Clavijo and his companions had occasion more than once to recognize the absolute authority exercised by Timour, and the abject humility with which he was obeyed. Having issued orders for the erection of a bazaar right through the heart of the capital, the houses then occupying the site were pulled down with such rapidity that their owners had barely time to escape from their ruins, with such of their effects as were most easily carried. Within twenty-one days the new bazaar was built, and covered in with a vaulted roof, while, to cool the air and to supply the bazaar people with water, fountains were established at convenient intervals. As fast as a shop was completed, a tradesman was compelled to take it.

In like manner, the mosque constructed in memory of Timour's grandson, Mohammed Sooltan Meerza, who died of the wounds he received at the battle of Angora, being judged too small, was pulled down and replaced by a more suitable edifice in ten days. The mosque over the remains of the Khanum's

the 1990s, the number of people in the United States who are 65 years of age or older has increased by 50 percent, and the number of people 75 years of age or older has increased by 75 percent. The number of people 85 years of age or older has increased by 150 percent. The number of people 95 years of age or older has increased by 300 percent. The number of people 100 years of age or older has increased by 500 percent. The number of people 105 years of age or older has increased by 1,000 percent. The number of people 110 years of age or older has increased by 2,000 percent. The number of people 115 years of age or older has increased by 4,000 percent. The number of people 120 years of age or older has increased by 8,000 percent. The number of people 125 years of age or older has increased by 16,000 percent. The number of people 130 years of age or older has increased by 32,000 percent. The number of people 135 years of age or older has increased by 64,000 percent. The number of people 140 years of age or older has increased by 128,000 percent. The number of people 145 years of age or older has increased by 256,000 percent. The number of people 150 years of age or older has increased by 512,000 percent. The number of people 155 years of age or older has increased by 1,024,000 percent. The number of people 160 years of age or older has increased by 2,048,000 percent. The number of people 165 years of age or older has increased by 4,096,000 percent. The number of people 170 years of age or older has increased by 8,192,000 percent. The number of people 175 years of age or older has increased by 16,384,000 percent. The number of people 180 years of age or older has increased by 32,768,000 percent. The number of people 185 years of age or older has increased by 65,536,000 percent. The number of people 190 years of age or older has increased by 131,072,000 percent. The number of people 195 years of age or older has increased by 262,144,000 percent. The number of people 200 years of age or older has increased by 524,288,000 percent. The number of people 205 years of age or older has increased by 1,048,576,000 percent. The number of people 210 years of age or older has increased by 2,097,152,000 percent. The number of people 215 years of age or older has increased by 4,194,304,000 percent. The number of people 220 years of age or older has increased by 8,388,608,000 percent. The number of people 225 years of age or older has increased by 16,777,216,000 percent. The number of people 230 years of age or older has increased by 33,554,432,000 percent. The number of people 235 years of age or older has increased by 67,108,864,000 percent. The number of people 240 years of age or older has increased by 134,217,728,000 percent. The number of people 245 years of age or older has increased by 268,435,456,000 percent. The number of people 250 years of age or older has increased by 536,870,912,000 percent. The number of people 255 years of age or older has increased by 1,073,741,824,000 percent. The number of people 260 years of age or older has increased by 2,147,483,648,000 percent. The number of people 265 years of age or older has increased by 4,294,967,296,000 percent. The number of people 270 years of age or older has increased by 8,589,934,592,000 percent. The number of people 275 years of age or older has increased by 17,179,869,184,000 percent. The number of people 280 years of age or older has increased by 34,359,738,368,000 percent. The number of people 285 years of age or older has increased by 68,719,476,736,000 percent. The number of people 290 years of age or older has increased by 137,438,953,472,000 percent. The number of people 295 years of age or older has increased by 274,877,906,944,000 percent. The number of people 300 years of age or older has increased by 549,755,813,888,000 percent. The number of people 305 years of age or older has increased by 1,099,511,627,776,000 percent. The number of people 310 years of age or older has increased by 2,199,023,255,552,000 percent. The number of people 315 years of age or older has increased by 4,398,046,511,104,000 percent. The number of people 320 years of age or older has increased by 8,796,093,022,208,000 percent. The number of people 325 years of age or older has increased by 17,592,186,044,416,000 percent. The number of people 330 years of age or older has increased by 35,184,372,088,832,000 percent. The number of people 335 years of age or older has increased by 70,368,744,177,664,000 percent. The number of people 340 years of age or older has increased by 140,737,488,355,328,000 percent. The number of people 345 years of age or older has increased by 281,474,976,710,656,000 percent. The number of people 350 years of age or older has increased by 562,949,953,421,312,000 percent. The number of people 355 years of age or older has increased by 1,125,899,906,842,624,000 percent. The number of people 360 years of age or older has increased by 2,251,799,813,685,248,000 percent. The number of people 365 years of age or older has increased by 4,503,599,627,370,496,000 percent. The number of people 370 years of age or older has increased by 9,007,199,254,740,992,000 percent. The number of people 375 years of age or older has increased by 18,014,398,509,481,984,000 percent. The number of people 380 years of age or older has increased by 36,028,797,018,963,968,000 percent. The number of people 385 years of age or older has increased by 72,057,594,037,927,936,000 percent. The number of people 390 years of age or older has increased by 144,115,188,075,855,872,000 percent. The number of people 395 years of age or older has increased by 288,230,376,151,711,744,000 percent. The number of people 400 years of age or older has increased by 576,460,752,303,423,488,000 percent. The number of people 405 years of age or older has increased by 1,152,921,504,606,846,976,000 percent. The number of people 410 years of age or older has increased by 2,305,843,009,213,693,952,000 percent. The number of people 415 years of age or older has increased by 4,611,686,018,427,387,904,000 percent. The number of people 420 years of age or older has increased by 9,223,372,036,854,775,808,000 percent. The number of people 425 years of age or older has increased by 18,446,744,073,709,551,616,000 percent. The number of people 430 years of age or older has increased by 36,893,488,147,419,103,232,000 percent. The number of people 435 years of age or older has increased by 73,786,976,294,838,206,464,000 percent. The number of people 440 years of age or older has increased by 147,573,952,589,676,412,928,000 percent. The number of people 445 years of age or older has increased by 295,147,905,179,352,825,856,000 percent. The number of people 450 years of age or older has increased by 590,295,810,358,705,651,712,000 percent. The number of people 455 years of age or older has increased by 1,180,591,620,717,411,303,424,000 percent. The number of people 460 years of age or older has increased by 2,361,183,241,434,822,606,848,000 percent. The number of people 465 years of age or older has increased by 4,722,366,482,869,645,213,696,000 percent. The number of people 470 years of age or older has increased by 9,444,732,965,739,290,427,392,000 percent. The number of people 475 years of age or older has increased by 18,889,465,931,478,580,854,784,000 percent. The number of people 480 years of age or older has increased by 37,778,931,862,957,161,709,568,000 percent. The number of people 485 years of age or older has increased by 75,557,863,725,914,323,419,136,000 percent. The number of people 490 years of age or older has increased by 151,115,727,451,828,646,838,272,000 percent. The number of people 495 years of age or older has increased by 302,231,454,903,657,293,676,544,000 percent. The number of people 500 years of age or older has increased by 604,462,909,807,314,587,353,088,000 percent. The number of people 505 years of age or older has increased by 1,208,925,819,614,629,174,706,176,000 percent. The number of people 510 years of age or older has increased by 2,417,851,639,229,258,349,412,352,000 percent. The number of people 515 years of age or older has increased by 4,835,703,278,458,516,698,824,704,000 percent. The number of people 520 years of age or older has increased by 9,671,406,556,917,033,397,649,408,000 percent. The number of people 525 years of age or older has increased by 19,342,813,113,834,066,795,298,816,000 percent. The number of people 530 years of age or older has increased by 38,685,626,227,668,133,590,597,632,000 percent. The number of people 535 years of age or older has increased by 77,371,252,455,336,267,181,195,264,000 percent. The number of people 540 years of age or older has increased by 154,742,504,910,672,534,362,390,528,000 percent. The number of people 545 years of age or older has increased by 309,485,009,821,345,068,724,781,056,000 percent. The number of people 550 years of age or older has increased by 618,970,019,642,690,137,449,562,112,000 percent. The number of people 555 years of age or older has increased by 1,237,940,039,285,380,274,899,124,224,000 percent. The number of people 560 years of age or older has increased by 2,475,880,078,570,760,549,798,248,448,000 percent. The number of people 565 years of age or older has increased by 4,951,760,157,141,521,099,596,496,896,000 percent. The number of people 570 years of age or older has increased by 9,903,520,314,283,042,199,193,993,792,000 percent. The number of people 575 years of age or older has increased by 19,807,040,628,566,084,398,387,987,58

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the 1990s, the number of people in the United States who are 65 years of age or older has increased by 50% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). The number of people 65 years of age or older is projected to increase by 100% by the year 2030 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). The number of people 65 years of age or older is projected to increase by 100% by the year 2030 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). The number of people 65 years of age or older is projected to increase by 100% by the year 2030 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are undernourished has declined from 1.1 billion to 800 million. The number of people who are malnourished has declined from 1.5 billion to 1 billion. The number of people who are obese has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are obese and overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are obese and overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million.

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...the ...



the presence of Timour's Court, an army in itself, all kinds of provisions were procurable at prices that appeared low to the Spaniards.

'The city is so large, and so abundantly supplied, that it is wonderful. . . The supplies of this city do not consist of food alone, but of silks, satins, gauzes, tafetas, velvets, and other things. The lord had so strong a desire to ennoble this city that he brought captives, to increase its population, from every land which he had conquered, especially all those who were skilful in any art. From Damascus he brought weavers of silk, and men who made bows, glass, and earthenware, so that of these things Samarkand produces the best in the world. From Turkey he brought archers, masons, and silversmiths. He also brought men skilled in making engines of war; and he sowed hemp and flax, which had never before been seen in the land.' These captives were computed at 150,000, including men and women, 'Turks, Arabs, Moors, Christians, Armenians, Greek Catholics and Jacobites, and those who baptize with fire in the face (Parsees), who are Christians with peculiar opinions.' Many of these unfortunate beings lived under trees, or in caves, outside the walls of city.

From Russia and Tatary were imported linen and furs; from India, nutmegs, cloves, mace, cinnamon, ginger, and many other spices, which did not find their way to Alexandria; and from China, silks, satins, musk, rubies, diamonds, pearls, and rhubarb. The Chinese were at that period deemed the most skilful artizans in the world, and were wont to say of themselves that they had two eyes, that the Franks had one, and that the people of all other countries were blind.

In Samarkand there were several open spaces in which were sold cooked meats, fowls, and other birds, 'very nicely dressed.' These stalls were attended night and day. Slaughter-houses, too, were provided for killing not only sheep and horses, but

the partridges. At one end of the city, surrounded by a stream flowing through a garden, treasure was stored, and here, too, a number of workers were incessantly employed all the day in making head-pieces, bows, and arrows.

On the day when an important expedition Timour was to enter this castle for seven years, and the day of his visit to Samarkand. The Tatar Khan came with much pomp, and distributed among his troops, plates, adorned with red cloth and gold. He also gave away a vast number of bags of gold, but in front a plate to move up to the wall.

about 8000 of the Cambalu, or Pekin, was  
 & was divided, of which one third lay  
 in the mountains, & were kept by roving shepherds and  
 the other two thirds in the S. 9 camels arrived  
 at the coast in 1838, & it took fifteen days to the  
 coast. The Chinese have the story of the Ama-  
 sonian Indians, & of a young man, with such  
 a name, who was taken into captivity, to the  
 coast, & was sold here, & then while with the  
 Chinese he was sold to the English, & brought up under  
 the name of James Wankar, & his fathers. These  
 were the first who were sent to the Church, and of  
 whom a few were saved. They, when it was de-

the *Anda* and the *Sarakand* appear to have been  
 the same. No acts of personal violence were per-  
 mitted; all property was referred to magis-  
 trates, who sat in the *Anda*; and the police or the revenue  
 officers, and the proceedings were reported to Timour.  
 The *Anda* sheet was written out by a scribe, and entered in


a public register. The warrant or decree was confirmed by four separate impressions of the judge's seal, and by that of Timour's seal—in the middle—three cyphers, two above and one below, with the legend 'Rasty va Rousty.'

The chief source of revenue was the land-tax, which was fixed at one-third of the produce from irrigated lands, with an additional rate for the use of water derived from public reservoirs. But whosoever constructed a tank, planted a grove, or broke up fresh land, was exempted from taxation for two years. The use of whip or scourge was forbidden, serais were built for the accommodation of travellers, and roads and bridges were kept in good repair.

The army was still divided as in the time of Chinghiz Khan into Tens, Hundreds, Thousands, and so forth. Each man was provided with two horses, a bow, a quiver filled with arrows, a sword, a saw, an awl, a ball of thread, ten needles, and a leathern knapsack. One tent sufficed for eighteen horsemen. The officers, however, wore a coat of mail, and had each his own tent, and from five to three hundred horses according to his rank and duties. There was a standing order that encampments should always, if possible, be fixed on high ground, and near a supply of water. Mercy to the vanquished was also particularly enjoined, but seemingly with little effect.

Timour's favourite pastime from boyhood was chess, at which he became such an adept that he increased the number of pieces and squares, and complicated the moves. When the news of his youngest son's birth was brought to him, he had just castled his king—exclaiming, as was customary, 'Shah Rokh,' and that became the young prince's name.

The departure of the Spanish ambassadors was hastened by the alarming illness of Timour. They were dismissed by the Meerzas without much ceremony, but were abundantly supplied with whatever they could reasonably want during the painful

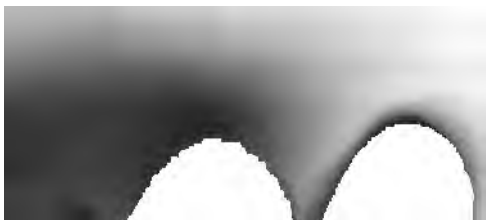


and Western Asia like a tornado, and his course was marked by towns in ashes, countries depopulated, and pyramids of human skulls. He made a wilderness and called it a conquest.

‘Though one of the greatest of warriors,’ says Sir John Malcolm, ‘he was one of the worst of monarchs. He was able, brave, and generous ; but ambitious, cruel, and oppressive.’ It is related of him that in the mosque of Meshed he chose to perform his devotions at the tomb of Abou Moslem, whose power was purchased at the cost of a million lives. ‘The bloody shadow of Abou Moslem,’ exclaimed a dervish, ‘is hovering over thy head, O thou Man of Blood !’

On the other hand, Timour was an ardent lover of truth, and hated falsehood above all things. Of a serious, and even gloomy, disposition, he was a munificent patron of letters, and was himself an author. The ‘Mulfurzat Timoury,’ or the Institutes of Timour, are at once an amusing autobiography and a code of despotic government. His knowledge of the Koran dated from his childhood, and he was able to converse fluently in the Toorkee, Persian, and Mongolian tongues. He was fond of rich apparel, and wore diamond ear-rings of great value. He usually arrayed himself in loose flowing silken robes with a tall conical hat of beaver skin, surmounted by a pear-shaped ruby, encircled with pearls and brilliants.

In this reign lived the great Bokharan mystic Saint, Khoja Baha-ood-deen, founder of the Order of Nakishbendi, three pilgrimages to whose shrine were held equivalent to one to the Kaaba. Timour’s liberality to poets, physicians, and historians was only equalled by his munificence to astronomers and santons.



CHAPTER VII.

MOHAMMED BABER : ANTHONY JENKINSON.

BABER—FERGHANA—BABER'S FATHER AND UNCLE—CAPTURE OF SAMARKAND—REVERSE OF FORTUNE—A MOGHUL CUSTOM—BABER DEFEATED BY SHEIBANI BEG—THE KAFIRS, EIMAUKS, AND HAZAREHS—BABER RECOVERS SAMARKAND—EXPELLED BY THE OOBEGS—CONQUERS HINDOSTAN—THE OOBEGS—ISMAEL THE SOUFFAVEAN—THE SHEIBANIDES—ANTHONY JENKINSON—URGHUNJ—ATTACKED BY ROBBERS—BOKHARA—THE KING—TRADE—RETURN TO MOSCOW.


'To reign, rather than to govern,' remarks Gibbon, 'was the ambition of (Timour's) children and grandchildren, the enemies of each other and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Sharokh, his youngest son; but after *his* decease the scene was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Uzbeks from the north, and the Turkmans of the black and white sheep.' Shah Rokh was, in fact, Timour's fourth son, and is represented by Eastern historians as a brave and successful general, a just, amiable, and unambitious prince. He reigned for 40 years over Khorassan and the immediately adjacent country, and restored many of the cities that had been destroyed by his father's barbarous soldiery. The immense empire, however, that had been overrun, rather than established, by Timour, fell to pieces at the death of that ruthless conqueror, though in India the illustrious names of Baber, Akbar, Jehan-Gheer, Shah-Jehan, and Aurungzeb appear in the roll of his descendants.



Mohammed Baber was born in Ferghana in the year 1483. On the mother's side he was descended from Chagatai and Chinghiz, and when yet barely twelve was placed on the throne of that small and mountainous principality. One of his uncles was ruler of Samarkand and Bokhara; a second governed the district of Hissar; a third was lord of Kabool and Ghuznee; while a fourth held his court at Tashkend. His seemingly powerful relatives, however, were by no means a source even of moral strength to the youthful prince. Indeed, their first thought on his father's death was to divide the little State among themselves, but it so happened that one fell sick, another lost his horses on the march, and their joint enterprise fell to the ground.

Baber himself says of Ferghana, 'This country is in the fifth climate (that is, the fifth from the equator), on the extreme boundary of the habitable world. On the east is Kashgar; on the west Samarkand; on the north there were formerly the cities of Almalig, Almatu, and Otrar, but they have been laid desolate by the Uzbeks.' The chief district in this petty kingdom was Andijan, situated on the south bank of the Syr, abounding in grain and fruit of all kinds, with a supply of melons exceeding all possible demand, and pheasants of excellent flavour. The people were Toorks, and remarkable for their beauty, but too proud to cultivate the soil for the sake of 'the top of a weed,' their irreverent expression for ears of corn. It was not, however, a healthy province, owing to the prevalence of ague in the autumnal months.

To the eastward was situated the town of Ush, with its delightful gardens of tulips, roses, and violets. 'Near the mosque, which is outside the town, there is a meadow of clover so pleasant that travellers love to take rest there, and it is a common sport of the townsfolk to carry all who fall asleep there, across the three streams. Westward lay Marghinan, celebrated



for its apricots, pomegranates, and white deer, and inhabited mostly by Sarts, an aboriginal race, 'notorious all through Mawaralnahr for blustering and love of boxing.' Turning to the south-west, stood the town of Asfera in the midst of gardens and groves of almond trees, and also peopled by Sarts. 'In a rising ground on the south-east is found the stone mirror, about 20 feet in length' (crystal or talc?). To the west of Andijan the ancient city of Kojend commanded the bend of the river Syr, which here turns in a northerly direction. In the surrounding country white deer, hares, and mountain goats were exceedingly numerous, and almonds so plentiful as to be an article of export. The climate, however, was insalubrious, and inflammation of the eye so prevalent that the very sparrows suffered from it.

Baber's father, Omar Sheikh, regarded Akshee as his capital, —a town built upon the banks of the Syr, some 36 miles from Andijan. The castle stood on the edge of a precipice high above the river. The melons grown in the suburbs were incomparable, white deer, 'the fowl of the desert,' and 'very fat' hares, were the commonest of live things. The people disputed with them of Kasan as to the beauty and climate of their respective districts, but 'the gardens of Kasan being all sheltered along the side of the river, it was called the mantle of five lambskins.' The revenue sufficed for the maintenance of nearly 4000 troops.

According to Baber, his father was appointed ruler of Ferghana not so much for his own merits as because he bore the same name as a chief upon whom Timour had once conferred the government. He was of low stature and wore his tunic remarkably tight, but was not particular either as to food or dress. On state occasions he donned a turban, with the end hanging down, but at ordinary times he preferred the common Moghul cap. He belonged to the Haneefah sect, and was very

strict, never omitting the five daily prayers. His favourite reading was the Koran and Firdousi's Shah Nameh, or Book of Kings. Such was his sense of justice that, a Chinese caravan having been overwhelmed in a snow-storm, he preserved the property of the unfortunate victims until their heirs came to claim it in the following year. He was brave, affable, sweet-tempered, an indifferent archer, but strong in the arm, and a powerful hitter. When young he was too much addicted to intoxicating drinks, and even in his latter days had a carouse once or twice every week, besides continually eating comfits prepared with bhang. He was fond of backgammon and not averse from a turn with the dice.

Notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, his amiability, Omar Sheikh was thrice engaged in hostilities with his nearest relatives. In a battle with his father-in-law he was worsted, and also by his eldest brother Ahmed, the ruler of Samarkand. Over the Oozbegs, however, he was victorious, but in 1494 his brother Ahmed and one of his uncles combined their forces against him. 'At this juncture, being in the fort of Akshee, he was precipitated from the edge of the steep rock with his pigeons and pigeon-house, and departed to the other world,'—and his son Baber reigned in his stead. One of Omar Sheikh's Ameers is described as 'an excellent archer, and distinguished for his skill at leap-frog.'

Baber's uncle Ahmed Meerza of Samarkand was a very strict Mussulman in one respect, though lax in others. He never by any chance omitted one of the daily prayers, 'even when engaged in a drinking party,' and these bouts sometimes lasted from twenty to thirty days. In the intervals of sobriety he partook of 'pungent substances.' He was naturally of a penurious disposition, but brave, and dexterous with bow and arrow. One of his wives, whom he married for love, took to drinking, and became so jealous that she would not suffer him to speak to

any other ladies of his harem. 'At last, however, he put her to death, and delivered himself from the reproach.' One of his Ameers had 7000 servants and 500 falcons. Baber mentions a Mollah, who was a learned man and skilled in falconry, and who 'knew the art of bringing down rain and snow by appointment.'

A tribe of five or six thousand families inhabiting the wilds of Andijan, and trusting to their mountains for protection, refused to pay their annual tribute to Baber, whereupon he despatched against them a strong body of soldiers, who captured 1500 horses and 20,000 sheep, which were magnanimously divided among the captors.

While yet a mere youth Baber became involved in operations of a far more serious character than the chastisement of a refractory tribe of mountaineers. His first important expedition was directed against Samarkand, called the Protected City because it had never been taken by storm. Young as he was, he maintained a strict discipline among his rude soldiery, and inspired them with confidence in his courage and ability. Some traders, who had come to his camp with goods for sale, having complained to him that they had been robbed, he 'commanded that everything should be restored to them without reserve, and before the first watch of the morrow there was not a bit of thread nor a broken needle that was not recovered by the owner.'

Samarkand surrendered in November, 1497, after sustaining a seven months' siege, and Baber dwells lovingly upon the many objects of admiration within its walls. The Great Mosque with iron gates and 480 pillars, built by Timour after the conquest of Hindostan and by the hands of Indian stone-cutters and masons, especially attracted his attention. The Echoing Mosque was also deemed remarkable, nor were the many beautiful palaces and gardens allowed to pass unnoticed.

To every trade was allotted its own bazaar. Manufactures also flourished. The paper of Samarkand was greatly esteemed, as was likewise the *kermesi*, or crimson velvet,—the cramoisy of European writers.

Marco Polo, in his description of Turcomania, after abusing the Mohammedan inhabitants as ‘a rude people with an uncouth language of their own,’ mentions the Armenian and Greek traders and artisans who dwelt in the towns and villages, and adds: ‘They weave the finest and handsomest carpets in the world, and also a great quantity of fine and rich silks of cramoisy and other colours, and plenty of other stuffs.’ Whence it appears that Ferghana, at the close of the 15th century, was inferior in arts and manufactures to Mawaralnahr in the latter part of the 13th, for otherwise Baber would scarcely have taken any particular notice of the excellencies of Samarkand.

His success was transient. His allies and soldiers having plundered the citizens of all that was easily turned to account, broke out into violent mutiny, and finally returned to their homes. Some of his own people, too, rebelled and laid siege to Andijan, with the intention of raising his brother Jehangheer to the throne of Ferghana. At that critical moment Baber fell ill and lost the power of speech. Andijan was taken, and Samarkand renounced its allegiance. Khojend alone remained faithful, and for a while he wandered about almost in despair at the head of a small band of followers, who lived as well as they could by pillage. However, in 1499 he recovered Andijan, and two years later made himself master of Samarkand with only 240 men, the largest force he was then able to muster.

In the year 1500 Baber married his cousin Aisha Sooltan Begum, and he states with amusing naïveté that, although at first his affection for her was not slight, yet through bashfulness

he used to visit her only once in fifteen or twenty days. After a while love declined while his shyness increased, 'insomuch that my mother the Khanum used to fall upon me and scold me with great fury, sending me off like a criminal to visit her once in a month or forty days.' Shortly after this domestic event Baber was signally defeated by Sheibani Mohammed Beg, an Oozbeg chief, who became the founder of a dynasty. Shut up in a stronghold and reduced to the verge of starvation, he contrived to escape under the darkness of night, accompanied by his mother and two other ladies. His eldest sister was taken to wife by Sheibani, to whom she bore a daughter, but was afterwards bestowed by him in marriage upon a Syud.

A singular Moghul custom, which may be termed the Blessing of the Standards, is thus described by Baber. He was at the time a fugitive at the court of his uncle. 'Presently,' he writes, 'there came tidings that Tambol was moving against Uratippa. Wherefore the Khan led forth his army from Tashkend in due order, with right and left wing, and then, after the Mogul custom, formed the *ivim*, or hunting circle. The horns were blown, and the Khan having alighted, they brought nine horse-tail standards. One Mogul stood by, holding the shank-bone of an ox, to which a long cotton cloth was tied. Another fastened three strips of white cloth beneath the horse-tail of the standard, and passed them under the staff of the nine streamers. The Khan took his stand on the corner of one cloth, while I stood upon another, and Prince Mohammed upon the third. Then the Mogul, who tied the cloths, taking the shank-bone in his hands made an oration in the Mogul tongue, often pointing to the standards. Then the Khan and all the men near him took some spirit of mare's milk, and sprinkled it towards the nine standards. In that instant all the drums and trumpets struck up at once, and the soldiers raised the war-cry. These ceremonies were repeated thrice. After that, they leaped

on horseback then went up the shout of battle, and put their horses to full speed. The customs established by Zingis Khan are observed to the present day. Every man had an appointed station in the right, left, or centre, and the post is inherited from generation to generation. Next morning the army turned the *ivra*, and hunted in the vicinity of Sam Seirek.

The Onghag invaders, consisting of an aggregation of *Toucks*, Mongols, and vagabond descendants of the soldiers of Chinghiz and Timour, proved too strong for Bader, who in 1394 reluctantly bade farewell to Ferghana, and with less than 200 men passed over into the district of Hissar. He was then in the 22nd year of his age, and now for the first time began to use the razor. Crossing the Amou, he advanced to Termedh, being joined by thousands of Moghuls until the entire region between the Iron Gate and the Hindoo Koosh acknowledged him as master, the former ruler, Khosroo Soah, retiring to Khosrovan, according to the Eastern proverb.

Ten dervishes may sit in the carpet,  
But the same climate will not hold two kings.

Bader's next exploit was to cross the mountains by the Kipchak Pass, and take possession of Kabul. In his passage over the mountains he traversed the country of the *Kafirs*, of whom he observes, 'They are all wine-bibbers; every one of them carries a leathern bottle of wine about his neck. They never pray: they fear neither God nor man; and are heathenish in their usages.' They learned, however, to fear Timour. Trusting to their apparently inaccessible fastnesses, they treated with scorn and derision his summons to submit themselves to his supremacy. Turning the ravines in which they dwelt, Timour ascended to a height that dominated over them, and was thence lowered down on rafts or platforms from rock to rock—and five times was the operation repeated—until he stood on a level with the awe-stricken idolaters. He had with him a mere handful of

men, but it was felt impossible to resist a conqueror capable of such superhuman daring.

In this region pines, oaks, and the mastic-tree were met with in abundance, and a little lower down the mountain-side was gay as a parterre with a vast variety of tulips, one of which had a hundred petals, and is somewhat rashly supposed to have been rather a double poppy. The mountains were inhabited in other parts by Eimauks and Hazarehs, who spoke a Persian dialect, but whose features and habits bespoke a Moghul extraction. The Eimauks lived in camps called 'ordes,' and the Hazarehs in villages of thatched houses, each of which had a watch-tower, in which was posted a sentinel with a kettle-drum to sound the alarum. In one respect the Hazarehs were favourably distinguished from their neighbours—they never beat their wives.

At Heri, or Herat, Baber increased his store of useful knowledge; he there acquired the art of carving a goose. He was at the time a guest of Badia-ez-Zeman, a hospitable and jovial host, and one day a goose was set before him to his utter bewilderment. Badia, however, came to his relief and showed him how to cut up the savoury bird in slices. He was also entertained with concerts of music, the performers consisting of a harper and a player on the flute, who accompanied a singer with a good voice. 'The people of Heri,' he remarks, 'sing in a low, delicate, and equable style.' They were also very refined and polite in their manners, but overmuch addicted to the pleasures of the table, and narrowly missed giving Baber a taste for wine and dissipation.

Upon the discomfiture and death of Sheibani Khan in 1510 at the hands of Ismael the Souffavean, Baber saw that his opportunity had come, and fiercely attacked the Oozbegs in Hissar. Within a very brief space of time he drove them not only out of that district, but also out of Kunduz and Khotl,




drinking cup by his conqueror Ismael Khan, the founder of the Souffavean dynasty of Persia.

Ismael was descended from Sheikh Soufée-ood-deen, who resided at Ardebil, and traced his lineage from Moussa-al-Kazeem, the seventh Imam, but who was still more revered for his personal sanctity. The ascendancy of the Sheeah sectarians in Persia dates from Ismael, who prided himself on springing from the stock of Ali. This prince expelled the Oozbegs from Khorassan, which has ever since been an integral portion of the Persian territories. Two of his successors were not unknown to their contemporaries in England. Shah Tamasp emerged from the obscurity that habitually envelopes the history of the East through the slights he offered to our countryman Anthony Jenkinson, while Abbas the Great had the good fortune to command the services of the two distinguished brothers, Sir Robert and Sir Anthony Shirley. The Souffavean dynasty ceased in 1722 with the abdication of Shah Hosein in favour of Mahmood of Kandahar.

Although the star of Sheibani Khan waned before that of Shah Ismael, his son Timour Sooltan, as we have seen, became sufficiently powerful to dispossess Baber of both Samarkand and Tokhara. The greatest of his descendants, however, was Abdoollah Khan, who subdued the whole of Mawaralnahr, and made Bokhara his capital. This dynasty was of brief duration, expiring in 1597, with Abdoollah's savage and rebellious son Abdool Moomeen Khan. The princes of this line showed marked favour to the priestly class, and encouraged theological studies of an abstruse character. They were also believers in a Magic Stone, which was supposed to control the elements, cure diseases, and insure victory.

The Oozbegs were not the only race who were compelled to give way before the Russian advance. Certain of Joujee's descendants had settled near Ashtarkhan, or Astrakan, at the



north-western extremity of the Caspian Sea. Here they remained in comparatively peaceful obscurity for some two hundred years, when the encroachments of their northern neighbours drove them from their homes at the mouth of the Volga. The emigrants were hospitably received by Abdoollah's father Iskander Khan, who even gave his daughter in marriage to their leader Janee Khan. The grandson of this couple ultimately ascended the throne, and founded the ninth dynasty that has ruled over Bokhara, and which was superseded towards the middle of the 18th century by Nadir Shah.

On the 23rd of April, 1558, 'Master' Anthony Jenkinson started from Moscow in company with Richard and Robert Johnson, and a Tatar Tolmach, or interpreter. These adventurous travellers were sent out by the Muscovy Company of London, to establish a direct trade with Bokhara and Samarkand, and were furnished with letters from the Czar Ivan Vasilovich, 'directed unto sundry kings and princes.' It was the 10th of August before they reached the Caspian, on which they were sorely storm-tossed until the 3rd September, when they were landed 'over against Manguslave'—Manghishlak—and were 'greatly entertained by the prince and his people,' who did not, however, improve upon further acquaintance. 'Before our departure from thence,' the tormented traveller remarks, 'we found them to be a very bad and brutish people, for they ceased not daily to molest us, either by fighting, stealing, or begging, raising the prise of horses and camels and victuals, double that it was woant there to be, and forced us to buy the water that we did drinke: which caused us to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hire of camels, as for the prise of such as were bought, with other provision, according to their owne demand; so that for every camel's lading, being but 400 waight of ours, we agreed to give three hides of Russia, and foure woddin dishes, and to the Prince or Gevernour of the

sayd people, one ninth and two sevenths; Namely, nine severall things and twise seven severall things; for money they use none.'

At last, on the 14th September, the Englishmen commenced their long land journey with a caravan of one thousand camels. They had not proceeded, however, further than five marches, when they were stopped by a troop of Toorkoman horsemen of Timour Sooltan, Governor of Manguslave, who laid their hands upon various articles in the name of their Prince. Jenkinson at once rode up to the latter, and after a spirited remonstrance got from him a horse in part exchange, together with a letter of acknowledgment. Had he not acted in this fearless manner, he would have been not only robbed, but murdered—at least, so he was informed by his interpreter.

The Toorkoman chief, whom he calls the 'Soltan,' lived, he says, 'in the fields without castle or towne, and sate, at my being with him, in a little rounde house made of reeds, covered without with felts, and within with carpets.' There was with him 'the great Metropolitan of that wilde countrey, esteemed of the people as the Bishop of Rome is in most parts of Europe.' At this encampment the English travellers were regaled with horse-flesh and mare's milk, but the absence of bread is particularly noticed. For twenty days they wandered through a desert, compelled every now-and-then to kill a camel or a horse for food, and finding no water except in old deep wells, when it was generally brackish, and even salt, and sometimes two or three days elapsed without a well of any kind being met with.

On the 5th October, the caravan struck a gulf of the Caspian (?) where excellent water was obtained, and where the 'King of the Turkomans customers' examined the merchandise, and 'tooke custome, of every twenty-five one (four per cent.) and seven-ninthes'—that is, sixty-three separate articles.



Into this gulf the Oxus, according to Jenkinson's informant, formerly emptied itself, but there is evidently some confusion in this statement. The Oxus at one time no doubt discharged itself into Balkan Bay, but Jenkinson must have alluded to Kara Boghaz Bay, if it was really the Caspian Sea at all, unless, indeed, he referred to the Gulf of Kindelinsk or Kinderli, which Bruce regarded as the outlet of the ancient Oxus. The last supposition, however, is irreconcilable with the route laid down by our traveller, which, though ill defined, still gives the exact number of eleven days from the Toorkoman 'custom-house' to Urghunj, of which seven seem to have been spent in the Castle of Azeem Khan. Perhaps the true solution of the difficulty might be found in reading Aral for Caspian, and in regarding the Aibugir Gulf or Lake, as the point that was 'struck' after three weeks wandering in the desert. Urghunj is represented to have been only two days' journey from Sellizure, and not more than five days from the gulf.

Be that as it may, the caravan is stated to have arrived on the 7th at a place misnamed Sellizure or Shayzure, where the castle of Azeem Khan, the governor of the Urghunj district, stood on a considerable eminence. It seems to have been built of mud, and boasted of neither strength nor beauty. The people around were poor and knew nothing of commerce. The low-lying lands to the southward were well cultivated, and produced corn, rice, and fruit in abundance, but the water used for irrigation was drawn entirely from the Oxus, and the volume of that river had consequently been diminished to a serious extent.

Here the travellers remained, content with their reception, until the 14th, and on the 16th they entered Urghunj, after paying a poll-tax upon every man, horse, and camel in their company. This town was situated in a plain, and surrounded by mud walls, four miles in circuit. 'The buildings within it

are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long street that is covered above, which is the place of their market. It hath been wonne and lost four times within seven yeeres by civill warres, by meanes whereof there are but few merchants in it, and they very poore, and in all the town I could not sell above foure kerseis.' The country between Urghunj and the Caspian is said to have belonged to Azeem Khan and his five brothers, Toorkoman chiefs, always at feud with one another.

When not engaged in a foray, these magnates solaced themselves with the toilsome pleasures of the chase, and were particularly partial to hawking—the quarry being wild horses. 'The hawkes are lured to sease upon the beasts neckes or heads, which with chafing of themselves and sore beating of the hawkes are tired: then the hunter, following his game, doth slay the horse with his arrow or sword. In all this lande there groweth no grasse, but a certaine brush or heath, whereon the cattle feeding become very fat. The Tartars never ride without their bow, arrowes, and sword, although it be in hawking or at any other pleasure, and they are good archers, both on horsebacke and on foote also. These people have not the use of golde, silver, or any other coyne, but, when they lacke apparrell or other necessities, they barter their cattell for the same. Bread they have none, for they neither till nor sowe: they be great devourers of flesh, which they cut in smal pieces, and eat it by handfuls most greedily, and especially the horseflesh.

'Their chieftest drink is mare's milke soured, and they wil be drunke with the same. They have no rivers nor places of water in this countrey, until you come to the aforesaid gulf, distant from the place of our landing twenty days' journey, except it be in wels, the water whereof is saltish, and yet distant the one from the other two daies journey and more. They eate their meate upon the ground, sitting with their legs

double under them, and so also when they pray. Art or science have they none, but live most idly, sitting round in great companies in the fieldes, devising and talking most vainely.'

Jenkinson and his companions were detained at Urghunj till the 26th November, and on the 7th December halted at Kait Castle. The Christians in the caravan were here in great peril of being despoiled of their goods by 'Soltan Saramet,' but in the end he deferred to the more moderate counsels of his brother of Urghunj, and contented himself with taking a Russian hide for each camel. When again involved in the desert they were alarmed by rumours of robbers being abroad under an exiled prince, who maintained themselves by plundering defenceless travellers.

In the caravan it chanced that there were several Hajees, or pilgrims returning from Mecca, who resorted to divination to ascertain whether the threatened danger would overwhelm them, or pass over. For this purpose 'they tooke certaine sheepe and killed them, and took the blade bones of the same and first sodde them and then burnt them, and tooke of the bloode of the said sheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the said bones, and wrote certaine characters with the saide blood, using many other ceremonies and wordes, and by the same divined, and found that wee shoulde meete with enemies and theeves (to our great trouble), but should overcome them, to which sorcerie I and my companie gave no credit, but we found it true.'

The robbers came on boldly enough till Jenkinson and his companions, who were armed with muskets, emptied several saddles. A desultory skirmish then ensued, which lasted till nightfall, when a truce during the hours of darkness was concluded with mutual consent. The rogues, however, were too knowing for the honest men, and cut them off from the water. In the course of the night also they hailed the leader of the

caravan, and bade him surrender the Christians and their goods, and depart in peace. He proved loyal, however, to his trust, and even a Hajee, who had been taken prisoner, refused to give any information about them. On the following morning the caravan was permitted to proceed without further molestation on giving twenty times nine several things together with a camel to carry the plunder.

It was with infinite satisfaction the travellers at last reached the banks of the Oxus, having been without water for three days. All the next day they halted and rested their weary animals, 'making merry with our slaine horses and camels.' Being still alarmed about thieves, they struck off into the desert again for the space of four days, when they came to a well of brackish water, and had to kill some of their beasts of burden to avoid being famished.

On the 23rd December they entered the famous city of Bokhara. 'This Boghar,' says Master Anthony, 'is situated in the lowest part of all the land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with divers gates into the same; it is divided into three partitions, whereof two parts are the king's, and the third part is for Marchants and markets, and every science hath their dwelling and market by themselves. The citie is very great, and the houses for the most part of earth, but there are also many houses, temples, and monuments of stone, sumptuously builded and gilt, and especially bathstones so artificially built that the like thereof is not in the world: the manner whereof is too long to rehearse.

'There is a little river running through the midst of the said Citie, but the water thereof is most unholosome, for it breedeth sometimes in men that drinke thereof, and especially in them that be not there borne, a worme of an ell long, which lyeth commonly in the legge, betwixt the flesh and the skinne, and is pluckt out about the ancle with great art and cunning,

the surgeons being much practised therein, and if shee breake in plucking out, the partie dieth, and every day she commeth out about an inch, which is rolled up, and so worketh till she be all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing than water and mare's milke, and whosoever is found to breake that law is whipped and beaten most cruelly through the open markets, and there are officers appointed for the same, who have authoritie to goe into any man's house, to search if he have either aqua vitæ, wine, or brage, and, finding the same, doe breake the vessels, spoile the drinke, and punish the masters of the house most cruelly ; yea, and many times if they perceive but by the breath of a man that he hath drunke, without further examination he shall not escape their hands.'

Truly a mighty reformation since the jovial days of Timour, or even of Baber. The strict observance of this law was enforced by the High Priest, who was more feared even than the king. Jenkinson adds that the people of Bokhara hated the Persians, and called them 'Caphars,' or unbelievers, because they suffered their moustaches to grow, and this seems to be all he knew as to the difference between Soonees and Sheeahs.

'The king of Boghar,' we are told, 'hath no great power or riches, his revenues are but small, and he is most maintained by the Citie ; for he taketh the tenth piece of all things that are there solde, as well as by the craftsmen as by the marchants, to the great impoverishment of the people, whom he keepeth in great subjection, and, when he lacketh money, he sendeth his officers to the shoppes of the sayd Marchants to take their wares to pay his debts, and will have credite of force, as the like he did to pay me certaine money that he owed me for nineteen pieces of Kersey.'

There was no gold coin in the realm. The silver coin was a piece equivalent to twelve pence of English money, and 120 copper coins, called Pooles, were of the same value. Notwithstanding



[illegible][illegible]

On the 10th of May, 1864, the *William* was again sent to sea, and on the 11th, 12th, and 13th, she was employed in the same manner as on the 9th. On the 14th, she was again sent to sea, and on the 15th, 16th, and 17th, she was employed in the same manner as on the 14th. On the 18th, she was again sent to sea, and on the 19th, 20th, and 21st, she was employed in the same manner as on the 18th. On the 22nd, she was again sent to sea, and on the 23rd, 24th, and 25th, she was employed in the same manner as on the 22nd. On the 26th, she was again sent to sea, and on the 27th, 28th, and 29th, she was employed in the same manner as on the 26th. On the 30th, she was again sent to sea, and on the 31st, she was employed in the same manner as on the 30th.

medan Kossaks and the Tatars of Tashkend and Kashgar. Caravans were, besides, liable to be plundered by nomad tribes, and the journey oftentimes occupied nine months. Trade had consequently dwindled away, though small quantities of musk, rhubarb, satins, damasks, &c., &c., were occasionally imported into Bokhara. One of Jenkinson's companions, Richard Johnson, was informed that 'ships may saile from the dominions of Cathaia unto India. But of other waies, or how the seas lie by any coast hee knoweth not.' The religion of the Chinese, according to Tatar report, was 'Christian, or after the manner of Christians'—it was, of course, Buddhism.

'The Indians,' we learn, 'doe bring fine whites, which the Tartars do all roll about their heads, and al other kinds of whites, which serve for apparell, made of cotton, wooll, and crasko; but gold, silver, precious stones, and spices, they bring none. I enquired and perceived that all such trade passeth to the ocean sea, and the vaines where all such things are gotten are in the subjection of the Portingalls. The Indians carie from Boghar againe wrought silkes, red hides, slaves, and horses, with such like, but of kerseis and other cloths they make little accompt. I offered to barter with marchants of those countreis which came from the furthest parts of India, even from the countrey of Bengala, and the river Ganges, to give them kerseis for their commodities, but they would not barter for such commodities as cloth.

'The Persians do bring thither Craska, woollen cloth, linnen cloth, divers kindes of wrought pide silks, Argomacks, with such like, and do carie from thence redde hides, with other Russe wares, and slaves which are of divers countreis; but cloth they will by none, for that they bring thither themselves is brought unto them, as I have enquired, from Aleppo in Syria and the parts of Turkie. The Russes doe carie unto Boghar redde hides, sheepe skinnes, wollen cloth of divers

sorts, wooden vessels, bridles, saddles, with such like, and doe carie away from thence divers kindes of wares made of cotton, wooll, divers kinds of silkes, Crasca, with other things, but there is but smal utterance.'

Disappointed in his expectation of being able to open a lucrative trade with the far East through the medium of Russia and Bokhara, Jenkinson turned his face homewards on the 8th March, 1559, accompanied by ambassadors from Bokhara and Balkh to the Czar Ivan. On the 25th the caravan, consisting of 600 camels, reached Urghunj, where they remained till the 2nd April, when they started afresh, their numbers swollen by envoys from the Toorkoman chiefs, and on the 23rd found themselves once more at Manghishlak on the shores of the Caspian.

The old bark was moored where they had left her, but had been stripped of sails, rigging, boats, and anchors. While the Englishmen were scheming how to convert a cart-wheel into an anchor, a vessel put into the harbour and provided them with a few necessaries. When all was ready they set sail—'I and the two Johnsons being Master and Mariners ourselves, having in our barke the said six Ambassadors and twenty-five Russians who had beene slaves a long time in Tartarie, nor ever had before my cumming libertie or meanes to get home, and these slaves served to rowe, when neede was.' A storm, however, suddenly arose, their cable parted, and their anchor was lost. In order to escape being driven on to a lee shore, they endeavoured to gain an offing, but at last took shelter in an oozy creek, where they 'lived in great discomfort for a time.'

When the wind had lulled they made for their former anchorage and fished up the lost anchor, the Tatars marvelling how they knew where to find it beneath the waters. 'Note,' cries the honest Englishman with pardonable pride, 'that during the time of our navigation wee set up the redde crosse of

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Saint George in our flagges, for honour of the Christians, which I suppose was never seene in the Caspian Sea before.'

Astrakhan was reached on the 28th May, after much peril and distress, and Moscow on the 2nd September, 'and on the fourth day I came before the Emperour's Maiestie, kissed his hand, and presented him a white Cowes taile of Cathay and a drumme of Tartarie, which he well accepted. Also I brought before him all the Ambassadors that were committed to my charge, with all the Russe slaves; and that day I dined in his Maiestie's presence, and at dinner his Grace sent me meate by a Duke, and asked me divers questions touching the lands and countreis where I had bene.'

## CHAPTER VIII.

## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY : NADIR SHAH.

BERNIER AND THE TATAR AMBASSADORS AT THE COURT OF AURUNGZEB—  
A TATAR HEROINE—ROUTE FROM KASHMEER TO KASHGAR—TRAVELS OF  
BENEDICT GOËS AND OTHER MISSIONARIES — ABOU'L-GHAZEE KHAN —  
KHIVA AND BOKHARA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—NADIR SHAH—  
ENGLISH TRAVELLERS—TRADE—DECADENCE OF PERSIA.

THE annals of Central Asia in the 17th century are stained with the useless bloodshed that characterizes the incessant feuds of petty States submerged in barbarism, and regarding arms and the chase as the only honourable employment for free men. A savage fanaticism passed current for religion, and the capricious will of a narrow-minded and irresponsible despot dispensed with the usual forms and machinery of government. For the rest, what has been written touching the social usages of the Tatars and Moghuls during the previous three centuries will apply, with very slight variation, to the manners and customs of the Oozbegs and Toorkomans down to quite a recent period.

Bernier relates how about the year 1661 the Khans of Oozbeg Tatarv sent ambassadors to Aurungzeb to congratulate him on having finally triumphed over his brothers. The real object, however, of this mission was to efface whatever feelings of resentment might have been roused by the coalition of the Oozbeg Chiefs whom he had shut up in Balkh, whence he effected a difficult and disastrous retreat. They came not empty-handed, but brought as presents 'some boxes of choice lapis lazulus, divers camels with long hair, several gallant horses, and some camel-loads of fresh fruit, as apples, pears, raisins, and

melons (for it is chiefly Usbec that furnishes these sorts of fruit, eaten at Dehli all the winter long); and many loads of dry fruit, as prunes of Bokhara, apricots, raisins without any stones that appeared, and two other sorts of raisins, black and white, very large and very good.'

According to that amusing traveller, there was no 'more avaricious and uncleanly nation' than the Tatars, on the surface of the earth. The ambassadors grudged to spend the money that was allowed by Aurungzeb for their maintenance, and 'lived a very miserable life,' altogether unworthy of their position. They were ignorant even of the history of their own people. On one occasion Bernier dined with them. 'They are not,' he remarks, 'men of much ceremony; it was a very extraordinary meal for such a one as I, it being mere horseflesh; yet for all this I got my dinner with them; there was a certain ragout which I thought passable, and I was obliged to express a liking of so exquisite a dish, which they so much lust after. During dinner there was a strange silence: they were very busy in carrying in with their whole hands, for they know not what a spoon is; but after that this horseflesh had wrought in their stomachs, they began to talk, and then they would persuade me that they were the most dextrous at bows and arrows, and the strongest men in the world. They called for bows which are much bigger than those of Indostan, and would lay a wager to pierce an ox or my horse through and through.'

His entertainers likewise told him a tale of a Tatar maiden who slew, with arrows and sabre, from twenty to thirty Indians who had plundered her native village in her absence, and carried off captive her aged mother. The old woman warned them that they would do well to let her go free, for it would fare badly with them when her daughter came to know how they had treated her. They naturally laughed at her threats, but had not gone far before the Tatar Brindomart was seen 'prick-

ing o'er the plain.' While yet at a great distance she began to discharge her fatal arrows with unerring aim, and, when her quiver was exhausted, charged them sword in hand and rescued the beldame.

Bernier accompanied Aurungzeb to Kashmeer, where he made the acquaintance of some merchants from Kashgaria, who informed him that the quickest and easiest route to their country lay through Great Tibet. They themselves, however, proposed to return home by way of Eskerdon—Iskardo—in Little Tibet, and expected to occupy forty-four days in travelling to Kashgar, described as 'a small town, once the seat of the king of Kacheguer, which is now at Jourkend—Yarkund—lying somewhat more to the north, and ten days journey distant from Kacheguer.' The traders added that from that town to 'Katay,' on the north-west of China, by way of Khoten, was a distance of two months constant travel, by very difficult roads, and that there was 'a place where, in what season soever it be, you must march for about a quarter of a league upon ice'—across a glacier.

In the course of the 17th century several Jesuit Missionaries made their way from India to China, in the hope of converting the heathen. The most notable of these was Benedict Goës, who started from Agra in 1602, and travelled by way of Lahore, Attock, and Peshawur to Kabul, where he was detained for a considerable time. At length resuming his journey, he crossed the Hindoo Koosh by the Parwan Pass, ascended the valley of Badakhshan, and traversed the Pamcer Steppe to Sarikol, being the first European since Marco Polo who had visited those regions. Thence he proceeded to Yarkund by the Chichiklik Pass and the Tangitar valley, and so passed on to the fulfilment of his bootless mission.


Half a century later the two Jesuit Missionaries Dorville and Grueber penetrated to China from Bengal, and in 1714 another Jesuit, Desideri, adopted Kashmeer as his starting

point. There is not much, however, that is either very entertaining or instructive in the records of their wanderings, or of a nature to arrest the attention of the general reader.

Of far greater interest is the 'Genealogical History of the Tatars' commenced by Abou'l-Ghazee Khan, after his abdication of the throne of Khwarezm, and completed by his son and successor. Abou'l-Ghazee Khan was born at Urghunj in 1605, and by his mother's side descended in a direct line from Chinghiz Khan. He became King of Khwarezm in 1645, and after a glorious reign of twenty years voluntarily abdicated in favour of his son Anou Shah Mohammed Bahadoor Khan. In his leisure hours after retiring from the management of public affairs, he applied himself with great diligence to the compilation of his History, and on the visible approach of death earnestly commended its completion to his son, who faithfully acquitted himself of the sacred trust. This useful work was translated and annotated by Bentinck, a learned Dutch Orientalist, whose notes, published at Leyden in 1726, convey a lively impression of the general condition of Central Asia at that period.

The description of the kingdom of Khwarezm applies almost equally well to that of the Khanat of Khiva at the present day. In length it extended 440 miles from north to south, and in breadth 340 from east to west. It consisted for the most part of wide plains of sand, fringed by a few ranges of hills, and cultivated only in the vicinity of the Jyhoon and its numerous estuaries and canals. Of pasture land the extent was considerable, and in the irrigated districts fruits and cereals yielded abundant crops. Vines grew well in certain localities, and the melons were famous throughout all Asia. The capital city, Urghunj, had fallen so much to decay that it made 'but a pitiful figure, being no more than a great scrambling town about a league in compass.'

The kingdom of Bokhara, or, as it was then called by






European writers, Bucharía or Bogaria, was in a very flourishing condition. Strictly speaking, it was divided into two portions, Great Bucharía and Little Bucharía. The latter is at present represented by Eastern Toorkestan, but the former was roughly calculated to extend 760 miles from east to west, and 720 from north to south, and comprised all the country enclosed between the Jyhoon and the Syhoon—or the Amou and Syr.

Nature, we read, 'has denied nothing to this fine country to make living in it agreeable. The mountains abound with the richest mines; the vallies are of an astonishing fertility in all sorts of fruits and pulse; the fields are covered with grass the height of a man; the rivers swarm with excellent fish; and wood, which is so scarce all over Grand Tartary, is found here in great plenty in several parts. In short, it is the best cultivated and inhabited of all the Northern Asia. But all these things are of very little use to the Tartar inhabitants, who are naturally so lazy that they would rather go steal, or rob and kill their neighbours, than apply themselves to improve the benefits which nature so liberally offers them.'

The inhabitants consisted of three distinct races, who kept aloof from one another. The most industrious were the Sarts, or descendants of the early Aryan population, and who are best known by their Persian appellation of Tajeeks. The Toorks, or Toorkomans, originally from Toorkestan, were of tall stature and robust frame, with square flat faces, and of a swarthier complexion than their brethren who settled in Anatolia and founded the Empire of Turkey in Europe.

The lords of the land, however, were the masterful Oozbeks, who, nevertheless, had been forced to give way before the superior numbers, discipline, and intelligence of the encroaching Muscovites. Though possessing fixed habitations, they were much given to wandering from place to place, carrying with



them all their effects of any value. Their houses, indeed, were chiefly 'a dome of laths, and o'er it felts were spread.' They were armed with bow and arrows, a lance, a sword, a javelin, occasionally with an arquebuss, and generally with a buckler slung at their back—the chiefs in war time wearing coats of mail. In these respects, indeed, there was little difference between the Oozbegs\* and the partially conquered Toorkomans. Both were men of blood, and lived by rapine, scorning the arts of peace and the tillage of the soil, which were left to the Sarts, dwelling in towns and villages, and to Persian slaves torn from their homes in Khorassan. Their favourite dishes were then, as now, roast horse-flesh and mutton pillao, washed down by 'Kumeez' and arrack, both made from mare's milk.

The Toorks, or Tatars,—for they belonged to the same stock—were divided into five Aimaks or tribes; the Ugurs; the Kankli Tatars, near the Ili; the Kipchaks, ancestors of the Cossacks of the Ural; the Kall-Atz, in Mawaralnahr; and the Karliks, on the mountains whence the Moghuls of Chinghiz issued forth upon the plains. The Kankli Tatars are said to derive their name from the inventor of wheeled carriages for carrying off plunder, which from the creaking of their wheels were called Kunnecks, and their ingenious deviser Kankli. The epithet Kalmuk seems to have been given in derision by the Mohammedan Tatars to those who still adhered to idolatry, just as the Russians fell into the habit of speaking of the indepen-

\* In 'Lalla Rookh' the minstrel-prince sings of the

'Chiefs of the Uzbek race  
Waving their heron crests with martial grace;  
Turkomauns, countless as their flocks led forth  
From the aromatic pastures of the North;  
Wild warriors of the turquoise hills—and those  
Who dwell beyond the everlasting snows  
Of Hindoo Kosh in stormy freedom bred,  
Their fort the rock, their camp the torrent's bed.

dent Kozzaks as Kirghiz, by which name the Persians contemptuously designated all the nomad tribes, as if dwellers in Khourgah, or asses' stables.

The Tatar horses, we are assured, 'make but a sorry appearance, having neither breast nor buttocks, the neck long and straight like a stick, and the legs very high, and no belly. They are, besides, of a frightful leanness: for all this, they are exceeding swift and almost indefatigable. They are easily maintained; a little grass, though ever so indifferent, and even a little moss, satisfying them in case of need: so that these are the best horses in the world for the use the Tatars make of them.'

Pushing poetic license to the verge of reckless audacity, Mr Matthew Arnold, in his spirited but singularly anachronistic poem, 'Sohrab and Rustum,' picturesquely delineates the Tatar hordes as they existed some centuries subsequent to the historical romance he has selected for the pastime of a Muse capable of far greater flights. It is thus he describes the auxiliaries of Sohrab:—

'From their black tents, long files of horse, they stream'd:  
As when, some grey November morn, the files,  
In marching order spread, of long-necked cranes  
Stream over Casbin, and the Southern slopes  
Of Elburz, from the Aralian estuaries,  
On some froze Caspian reed-bed, Southward bound  
For the warm Persian sea-board; so they stream'd.  
The Tartars of the Oxus, the King's guard,  
First, with black sheep-skin caps, and with long spears:  
Large men, large steeds: who from Bokhara come  
And Khiva, and ferment the milk of mares.  
Next the more temperate Toorkmans of the South,  
The Tukas, and the lances of Salore,  
And those from Attruck and the Caspian sands;  
Light men, and on light steeds, who only drink  
The acrid milk of camels, and their wells.  
And then a swarm of wandering horse, who came  
From far, and a more doubtful service own'd;

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The Tartars of Ferghana, from the banks  
 Of the Jaxartes, men with scanty beards  
 And close-set skull-caps ; and those wilder hordes  
 Who roam o'er Kipchak, and the Northern waste,  
 Kalmuks, and unkemp'd Kuzzaks, tribes who stray  
 Nearest the Pole, and wandering Kirghizzes,  
 Who came on shaggy ponies from Pamere.'

Bokhara, the capital city, appears to have undergone little change between the date of Anthony Jenkinson's visit and the close of the 17th century. According to Abou'l-Ghazee Khan, the name is derived from a Moghul word 'Buchar,' signifying 'a learned man,' because all such as desired to study grammar and science were wont to repair to Bokhara. Unfortunately for this derivation, the town possessed that name ages before either mosque or medresseh was erected within its walls, or the Moghul had swept down from his native mountains,

As when a vulture on Imaus bred,  
 Whose snowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,  
 Dislodging from a region scarce of prey,  
 To gorge the flesh of lambs, or yearling kids,  
 On hills where flocks are fed, flies towards the springs  
 Of Ganges or Hydaspes, Indian streams.

The town is still pictured as begirt with a wall of earth faced with turf, and divided into three parts, in one of which stood the Ark, or Royal Palace ; in another, the chief public offices and buildings ; and in the third, the shops and dwellings of the industrial population. As usually happens in the East, each calling had its own peculiar quarter or bazaar, and the site of the city on the great caravan route between Eastern and Western Asia was bearing its legitimate fruits. The humbler habitations, however, were built of mud, stone being reserved for more stately edifices, and the water was execrably unwholesome. Traders, too, complained that, although the customs duties did not exceed the two-and-a-half per cent. sanctioned by the Koran, they were subjected to such vexation and oppres-

sion, that their business was seriously injured. In like manner the philo-Russian Bentinck says that nothing is wanting to the city of Samarkand to enjoy a very considerable commerce, but to have other masters and neighbours than the Mohammedan Tatars.

Samarkand, however, was a much finer town than Bokhara. Many private houses were built of stone from the neighbouring quarries, and some of the Mosques and Medressehs were really handsome structures. The palace, indeed, had suffered from neglect, but the lofty dome over the tomb of Timour, and the observatory erected by Oolough Beg, one of Timour's numerous grandsons, failed not to excite the admiration of strangers. The beautiful environs and the fertile valley of the Zarafshan retained all their attractions, 'and all, save the spirit of man, was divine.'

Another town of importance was Balkh, at that time the residence of an Oozbeg Chief who ruled over Badakhshan. The country around was well cultivated, and produced silk of superior quality. The silken manufactures of Balkh likewise bore a high reputation, and the people were said to differ from the inhabitants of most other cities of Central Asia in that they were less prone to theft, and more given to honest industry. The houses were for the most part built with brick or stone, and the lofty ramparts of earth that surrounded the city were faced with stone. Situated on an affluent of the Amou and on the direct caravan route between India and Persia, Balkh enjoyed the advantages of a brisk trade, and as a duty of two-and-a-half per cent. was levied on all goods entering or issuing from the gates, the public revenue must have been considerable. The castle was a spacious and substantial structure,—the neighbouring quarries of marble furnishing the materials.

The eighteenth century was destined to witness a revival of the massacres that characterized the triumphs of Chinghiz

and Timour. In the province of Khorassan and at no great distance from Kelat, the ancient Artacoana, and in the year 1687 or 1688, a man of the Affshar tribe, named Imam Kouli, possessed of neither riches nor rank, became the father of one of the most savage conquerors even Asia has produced. Nadir Kouli, or Slave of the Wonderful, that is, of God, began life as a robber, and early distinguished himself by the murder of an uncle who had been appointed Governor of Kelat, the possession of which city with its fertile table land was the motive and recompense of the crime. His unscrupulous audacity having recommended him to the notice of Shah Tamasp, then King of Persia, he was taken into the royal service, and honoured with the title of Khan.

Courtier-like, Nadir now transferred his allegiance from The Wonderful One to his earthly master, and called himself with hypocritical humility Tamasp Kouli Khan. His aptitude for war was speedily made manifest by the expulsion of the Afghans from Persia, and the grateful or timid monarch, in recognition of his valour and ability, conferred upon him the governments of Khorassan, Mazanderan, Seistan, and Kerman, thus raising him to a position scarcely inferior to his own.

The ingratitude, or patriotism, of Tamasp Kouli Khan, was on a par with the suddenness of his elevation. His benefactor having concluded a disgraceful peace with Sultan Mahmoud, was declared unworthy to rule over Persia, and his son, barely eight months of age, was placed on the throne, with Tamasp Kouli Khan for his guardian and vicegerent. On the death of the infant, which happened very shortly afterwards, the Regent usurped the insignia of royalty, and adopted the name by which he is known in history—that of Nadir Shah.

His son Riza Kouli Meerza likewise displayed great military talent, and gave hopeful promise of being a just, merciful, and enlightened monarch, should he ever succeed to the throne.

His first feat of arms was the complete overthrow of an Oozbeg army, followed by the capture of Balkh, and the passage of the Oxus. He was checked, however, in mid-career, in 1738, by a summons from his father, who was then on the point of setting out on his murderous expedition into Hindostan. During Nadir Shah's absence, Riza Kouli Meerza ruled in his stead, fixing his seat of government at Meshed. It was at this time that Jonas Hanway visited that city, which has passed through so many vicissitudes of fortune. 'It is situated,' he wrote, 'to the north of a ridge of mountains and is well supplied with water, which is brought hither in an aqueduct from a great distance: in time of peace it is a place of great trade; caravans are employed daily from Bokhara, Balkh, Biddukhshan, Kandahar, and India; as well as from all parts of Persia. The bazaars, or market-places, are large and well-built, filled with rich merchandise, and frequented by great numbers of people of different nations. There were computed about ninety caravanserais in this city, all in good repair. Great numbers of people were sent hither by Nadir Shah from all parts of Persia, as well as from the new-conquered dominions; and all other means were used to make it a flourishing city. It is fourteen days' journey distant from Bokhara by the direct road, twenty from Balkh, twenty-six from Biddukhshan, and thirty from Kandahar.'

It is said to have been the intention of Nadir Shah to remove the seat of government permanently from Ispahan to Meshed, as better situated for a commercial emporium, and both he and his son conferred many privileges upon its inhabitants, in the hope of restoring it to its former state of prosperity. There was a time, says a writer of that century, when Meshed was 'famous for its manufactures of all sorts, such as gold and silver brocades, tapestry, rich silks, and woollen stuff, as beautiful and as dear as silks: there was,

besides, a manufacture of earthenware, which was looked upon as the best in Asia, on this side China; so that, an age ago, this city for mosques, public baths, caravanserais, bazaars, and other public structures, was not in the least inferior to any city in Persia; but the Uzbek Tatars had so totally destroyed it, that it made but a very indifferent figure when the Shah Nadir made choice of it for the seat of his empire.'

On his return from the capture of Delhi, and the massacre and pillage of its inhabitants, Nadir crossed the Oxus, and encamped within twelve miles of the city of Bokhara. The Khan, though descended from Chinghiz, wisely preferred timely submission to useless resistance, and not only laid the insignia of royalty at the feet of the conqueror, but also gave his daughter in marriage to Nadir's nephew. The Oxus was declared to be thenceforth the boundary between the kingdoms of Bokhara and Persia, and 12,000 Oozbeg horsemen enlisted under the banners of the Shah. The conqueror then proceeded to avenge a cruel insult he had received at the hands of the Khan of Khwarezm.

Nadir had sent ambassadors to that barbarous court to demand the release of all Persians detained in slavery, but his envoys were savagely put to death, with the exception of one, who returned to him without ears or nose. The Khan boldly took the field with 20,000 men, but, learning that Nadir Shah was approaching in person at the head of 50,000, his courage failed him, and he hastily retreated towards his capital. He was overtaken, however, when only half a day's journey from its friendly walls, and, after a desperate struggle, was defeated and made prisoner. On being conducted into the presence of the victor, he sought to obtain his own pardon by accusing his Oozbeg chiefs of having murdered the Persian ambassadors without his knowledge. Nadir sternly replied that, if he had not capacity enough to govern the handful of subjects who



acknowledged him as their lord, he was not fit to live; and that, for the affront he had passed upon himself in killing his messengers, he did not deserve to die like a man—he should die, therefore, like a dog. The Khan and thirty of his principal officers were accordingly led forth to execution, and had their throats cut.

The capital city, however, still refused to open its gates, and many of the Persian slaves were butchered, lest they should betray the place to their fellow-countrymen. On the 8th November, 1739, Nadir pitched his camp on the east side of Khiva, and opened fire upon the walls with 18 cannon and 16 mortars. He also constructed wooden towers to over-top the walls, and subdue the enemy's musketry fire. The besieged had only a few field pieces, which they had taken from the unfortunate Prince Beckovich, and on a practicable breach being effected they surrendered at discretion. Two English merchants, named Hogg and Thompson, had been involuntarily immured in the beleaguered town, and on appearing before Nadir were graciously received, and promised protection for themselves and their property. A fortnight afterwards the Persian monarch withdrew from Khwarezm with 20,000 liberated slaves and 8000 Oozbeg recruits, after bestowing the Khanat on Taher Khan, a cousin of the ruler of Bokhara.

We learn from Jonas Hanway's narrative that Nadir's army, shortly before his death, was estimated at 200,000 men, a number far short of the countless hordes assigned to Chinghiz and to Timour. The hosts of his predecessors, however, were migratory nations rather than disciplined troops. For every fighting man there were probably five or six non-combatants, including the old men, the women, the children, and the slaves. In the case of Nadir Shah it was different. He went forth to scourge and to conquer, but without thought of migration or settlement. It is true that, like all Eastern conquerors, he was

encumbered with many useless followers, who may have contributed to the magnificence of his presence, but who were otherwise a source rather of weakness than of strength. Among these may be enumerated 50 black eunuchs, 200 running footmen, 1000 stirrup-holders, 10,000 koulam or royal slaves, 500 heralds, and 150 carpet-spreaders. The 2000 Beg-zadeh, or gentlemen's sons, and the 1000 sons of elders, may have served as pledges for the loyalty of their parents, and the 4000 watchguards may possibly have deserved their title. But the main body contained 50,000 Affghans, 20,000 Affshahs, or nomads of Korassan of Nadir's own tribe, 6000 Oozbeks, 6000 Toorkomans, 6000 Balouche, probably Beloochees, and 12,000 musketeers.

Unchecked success, unlimited power, unthwarted caprice, worked out their own nemesis, and in his latter days Nadir was tormented by jealousy and suspicion. In a moment of unreasoning fury he deprived of sight his eldest son Riza Kouli Meerza. 'You have put out the eyes of Persia,' was the only reproach uttered by the submissive sufferer, and the event proved the justness of the prince's view of the instability of the empire acquired by his father. While encamped in a wide plain, a day's journey to the north-west of Meshed, Nadir conceived the mad design of massacring all the Persian soldiers in his army, and of trusting entirely to his Affghans and Toorkomans. At least, a rumour to that effect got abroad, and impelled by the motive of self-preservation Saleh Beg, the commander of the Affshah body-guard, conspired with some other officers to assassinate the tyrant, who was accordingly slain in his own tent while offering a vain resistance.

This tragic event occurred in 1747, and from that year dates the rapid decadence of Persia. The reigning dynasty belongs to the Kajar tribe, and is descended from Mohammed Hosein Khan, whose father was murdered by Nadir Shah, and

who makes an unpleasing figure in Hanway's narrative as an unscrupulous freebooter.

The gracious reception accorded by Nadir to the two English merchants found among the captive inhabitants of Khiva was consistent with the protection and encouragement that monarch systematically extended to industry and commerce. One object of his ambition was to command the navigation of the Caspian Sea, though chiefly with a view to overawe the Lesghians on the one coast and the Toorkomans on the other. For this purpose he applied to the Empress Catherine I. to send him some ship-carpenters, but her Majesty astutely replied that the only artificers of that class in her dominions were foreigners, whom she had no power to employ beyond her own territories. In this difficulty Nadir procured the services of a ship-captain named Elton, in the pay of an English company trading with Russia and Persia, whose representatives, Mr George Thompson and Mr Reynold Hogg, were the two Englishmen shut up in Khiva when taken by the Persians.

These pioneers of commerce had started from Yaik on the Ural, on the 26 June, 1740, and travelled in a direction to the east-south-east of Orenberg, a fortress then recently built as an outpost to repress the incursions of the Karakalpaks and Kirghiz, and also as an emporium for furs, gold dust, and rhubarb. On the 6th August they reached the shores of the Aral, and followed its western shore, distressed by the want of drinkable water and impeded by the ruggedness of the route. The circuit of the sea, or lake, they estimated at something over a thousand English miles, while the country they traversed is represented as abounding in wild horses, asses, and antelopes, and infested by wolves, and 'a very fierce creature called jolbart, not unlike a tyger, which the Tartars say is of such prodigious strength as to carry off a horse.'

A valley covered with brushwood and knee-deep in stagnant

water, described as the ancient channel of the Oxus, was crossed on the 1st September, and on the 5th they halted at 'Jurgantz'—Urghunj—a heap of ruins, with only one mosque remaining. Four days later the travellers entered Khiva, a town with three gates, situated on rising ground, defended by a mud wall higher than the roofs of the houses, strengthened by towers at short intervals, and surrounded by a broad ditch. The houses, however, were nothing better than mud huts, with flat roofs covered with earth. Trade, too, was at a stand-still, the inhabitants looking forward with reasonable apprehension to an early attack from Nadir Shah. Lodged in a caravanseraï, the Englishmen found it difficult to dispose of a sufficient quantity of goods to maintain themselves and their cattle, although they had been compelled to pay an octroi duty of five per cent. upon the whole of their merchandise.

'The dominions of Khiva,' they contemptuously remark, 'are of so small extent that a person may ride round them in three days: it has five walled cities, all within half a day's journey of each other.' The Khan was possessed of absolute power, tempered by the ascendancy, in religious matters, of the 'Moollah Bashi,' and his annual revenue did not exceed one hundred gold ducats. His people were found to be even more cunning and treacherous than the Kirghiz. According to the rate of travelling in those days, Khiva was seventeen days from the Caspian, and thirty-three from Orenberg, each day being equivalent to forty versts, or about twenty-seven English miles.

After the submission of Khiva to Nadir Shah, the Englishmen sold a portion of their merchandise without much difficulty to the Persians, but had great trouble in getting their money. Hogg therefore remained till the 6th April, 1741, when, to avoid the Toorkomans, he directed his course to the eastern shores of the Sea of Aral. In fifteen days he reached the Syr, but on the other side fell into the hands of the Kirghiz, who

took from him everything he had, so that it was with much pain and fatigue he finally made his way to Orenberg, and thence to St Petersburg.

In the meanwhile Thompson had proceeded to Bokhara, 'a large and populous city,' situated on a rising ground, and begirt with a slight mud wall and a dry ditch. The dwelling-houses were mud hovels with flat roofs, but the mosques and caravanserais were built of brick, as also the bazaars, though many 'stately buildings' of brick and stone were in a ruinous condition. 'The place,' says Thompson, 'is not esteemed unhealthy as to air and soil; but the water is so very bad that many of the inhabitants are confined several months in the summer by worms in their flesh, which they call *Rishtas*: some of these, when taken out of their bodies, prove to be forty inches long.' Serpents and scorpions of an exceedingly venomous nature were unpleasantly frequent. 'The most effectual remedy they find for the immediate cure of this distemper (the sting of the scorpion) is to bruise the scorpion, and apply it to the wound.'

The Bokhariots themselves are denounced as a cruel, cowardly, effeminate, and perfidious race, but more polite and civilized than the Khivans. The Armenian prince Haiton also spoke ill of the latter, as lawless, rude, unlettered pagans, while Ibn Batuta wrote, 'I have never seen better or more liberal people than the inhabitants of Khwarezm, or those who are more friendly to strangers. They have,' he adds, 'a very commendable practice with regard to their worship, which is this: When any one absents himself from his place in the mosque, he is beaten by the priest in the presence of the congregation; and, moreover, fined in five dinars, which go towards the expenses of the mosque, and for nourishing the poor. In every mosque, therefore, a whip is hung up for this purpose.' Ibn Batuta was further astonished by the crowds of people in the streets,

who made the ground, as it were, tremble beneath their feet, while the incessant movement recalled to mind the agitated surface of a storm-vexed sea.

No doubt, these different travellers bore each faithful witness according to his lights and personal experience. The Englishman, however, would probably have gladly exchanged something of the politeness of the Bokhariots for a brisker market for his wares, but the demand for European goods was very slight, and cloth was used only for caps. The duty on imports, whether belonging to natives or to foreigners, was no more than one per cent., but ten times that rate on exports. In the rare intervals of peace, the Customs were estimated to yield one thousand ducats per annum.

On the 8th August Thompson turned his back upon Bokhara, and proceeded to Meshed by a strangely circuitous route. He first travelled for four days in an easterly direction, passing through many Oozbeg villages, and then, turning to the south, crossed the Amou at Kherki on the 16th, after traversing the inhospitable desert. Here he was constrained to pay a small duty upon his merchandise. Bending to the south-east he next reached 'Anthuy'—Andkoee—after a painful journey through a desert country, and found that he was only three days distant in a direct line from his starting-point. The whole of this district was subject to the Persians, who bought large quantities of cattle from the inhabitants.

After a detention of ten days, waiting for a caravan, Thompson got away again on the 31st, and travelled westwards through narrow valleys hemmed in by lofty mountains, and on the 6th September arrived at a place he calls Margiehab—probably a corruption of Murghab, but which was actually Merou. It is stated to be very strong, defended by a garrison of 500 soldiers, and surrounded by a double wall on which several guns were mounted, but very unhealthy in summer in consequence of

pestilential winds. It was not until the 22nd September that he arrived at Meshed, the chief town of Khorassan, and at that time the capital of Nadir's wide dominions.

'Few things,' as Sir Rutherford Alcock remarked in his comprehensive address to the Geographical Section of the British Association at Bradford, 'Few things in the retrospect of past intercourse and knowledge of each other among nations widely separated, are more remarkable than the continuous communication across the whole breadth of Asia between the east and west, which seems always to have been maintained for purposes of traffic from the earliest historic periods. No dangers of the way, no physical obstacles of mountain ranges and great rivers or deserts, no length of time nor ignorance of the geographical bearings of any portions of this area of so many thousand miles, seemed to have acted as deterrents.'

The decadence of Persia, it has been said, commenced immediately upon the death of Nadir Shah. It might, perhaps, have been more correct to say that it was greatly accelerated by that event. In any case, we have contemporary evidence to the complete dissolution of the empire acquired by the victorious arms of that adventurer, and to the appalling disorder which ensued upon his assassination. Thus we read of Khorassan, 'It was formerly the best peopled, the best planted, and the best built province in Persia, but of late the incursions of the Uzbek Tatars have laid one half of it waste; and though for a few years they were kept in awe by the Shah Nadir, who drove them out of this country, for which he had a peculiar affection, yet it is not to be supposed, while the affairs of the Persian empire are in confusion, that they can be long restrained.'

Again, 'If we could with any probability suppose that a well-constituted government could take place, and be thoroughly established in Persia, it is very evident that in the space of a century, not only the affairs, but the very face of the country

would be changed ; their great cities would be repeopled, the trade through Persia to India and Tataria would be revived, their silk works and manufactures would be restored, and multitudes of people would flock into all their provinces for the sake of the plenty which in such a situation of things they would be sure to enjoy. But as this supposition is, on the one hand, improbable, so, on the other, it is very evident that for this very reason the Persian monarchy must for a long series of years continue broken and weak ; for it is by commerce only that the people of the country can become formidable ; for while, on the one side, they want a naval power to maintain the sovereignty of the Caspian Sea, to which they pretend, and on the other hand have no fortresses of great strength to secure the frontiers against the Uzbek Tatars on the north, and the Turks on the west, they will always be in danger from both those neighbours.'

As the surest remedy for this calamitous state of things, the occupation of the Caspian provinces by the Russians is contemplated with a certain degree of hopefulness, especially as tending to the overthrow of the Mohammedan heresy. 'If the feuds of Christian princes were once laid asleep, there is no improbability in the conjecture that the Russians might make themselves masters at least of some of the provinces of this empire which lie nearest to the Caspian Sea ; and whenever it shall happen it may prove a beginning to much greater revolutions, since there are multitudes of Christians in the adjacent countries, who are either of the Greek religion, or very little removed from it ; and if their spirits should once revive, the weakness of the Mahometans, both here and elsewhere, would be quickly seen.' As it happened, the feuds, or the indifference, of Christian princes afforded Russia the desired opportunity of seizing upon the western shore of the Caspian, a movement that has undoubtedly proved the prelude to greater revolutions, though



without aid from the co-religionists imagined by our author.

Less foresight, however, was manifested in his over-hasty congratulations on the gain to British merchants likely to arise from the opening up of a route through Russia into the heart of the Persian empire. 'We must consider ourselves,' he says, 'extremely happy in having set on foot a trade through Russia into Persia by the Caspian Sea, by which the most lucrative part of the commerce of that empire will fall into our hands, and may be justly esteemed the fruits of our great naval power, and the effects of sending our squadrons into the Baltic, which gave the Court of Petersburg such an impression of our power to assist or distress them, as it is our interest to take care that time shall never efface.'

Time's effacing fingers, however, have obliterated far deeper impressions than any that might have been made by the spirited conduct of a British Minister in the eighteenth century. Whatever share of the Persian trade is now enjoyed by this country is carried on through the Persian Gulf, the Caspian having become politically, as well as physically, a *mare clausum*. To the East India Company is due the merit of having, as it were, tapped Persia and the extreme eastern territories of the Turkish empire from the south, and thus in some degree revived the ancient commercial importance of Assyria and Mesopotamia. As the Russians bear down from the north, it becomes a matter of vital interest to Great Britain to establish a counterpoise in southern and western Asia, as the most efficient means of rescuing Persia from the state of vassalage and dependence on the Government of St Petersburg, into which she is rapidly descending. Strangely enough, it is to British capital and enterprise that Russia is primarily indebted for the possession of the Caspian, and for all the advantages resulting from that position.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE RIVAL POWERS.

COMMENCEMENT OF ANGLO-RUSSIAN TRADE—QUEEN ELIZABETH'S LETTER TO SHAH TAHMASP—CHRISTOPHER BURROUGH—EXPEDITION OF PRINCE BECKOVICH CHERKASSKY—JOHN ELTON—CAPTAIN WOODROOFE—JONAS HANWAY—COUNT VOINOVICH—RELATIONS OF RUSSIA WITH KHIVA—MOURAVIEF'S MISSION—GENERAL PEROFSKI'S EXPEDITION—RUSSIA AND ENGLAND IN CENTRAL ASIA—MAJOR ABBOTT'S MISSION—HIS EXPERIENCES OF KHIVA—UNDERTAKES A DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO ST PETERSBURG—HIS ADVENTURES IN THE DESERT.

THE first English expedition to Russia was undertaken in the reign of Edward VI., under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, who, together with the crew of the ill-named *Bona Esperanza*, was frozen to death off the coast of Lapland. Richard Chancellor was more successful. As captain of the good ship *Edward Bonaventure*, he discovered the Bay of Archangel, whence he proceeded to Moscow, and was received with great distinction by Ivan Vasilivich, commonly called Ivan the Terrible. This prince, in 1555, concluded a treaty with England, by which important privileges were conferred upon the merchants of that country, and in the following year a Russian ambassador was sent to London.

In 1557, Anthony Jenkinson was despatched by 'the merchants of London, of the *Moscovie Companie*' to open up a direct trade route with Bokhara, in the hope of bartering English merchandise for 'the gorgeous silks that Samarkand supplies.' On his return voyage across the Caspian Sea, in 1560, the patriotic Englishman, as we have seen, hoisted the

red cross of St George at the peak of his frail bark, the chief result of his hazardous journey being a sort of firman from the Sultan of Hircan (Hyrcania), or Shirvan, to establish a factory in his dominions. This Abdoollah Khan, whose name is corrupted into Obdolowcan, is described as 'a prince of a meane stature and of a fierce countenance,' parelled in gorgeous array, and fond of good living—140 dishes of meat and 150 dishes of desert constituting the *menu* of the banquet at which he entertained his guest from foreign parts.

In 1561, Anthony Jenkinson had the honour of bearing a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Shah Tahmasp, or Tahmasp, of Persia, who is styled therein 'the great Sophie, Emperor of the Persians, Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanes, Carmanarians, Margians, &c., &c.' After praying for due protection to her envoy, Elizabeth remarks in the stiff and redundant phraseology of the day: 'If these holye duties of entertainment and sweete offices of naturall humanitie may be willingly concluded, sincerely embraced, and firmly observed, betweene us, and our realmes, and subjects, then wee doe hope that the Almighty God will bring it to passe that of these small beginnings greater moments of things shall hereafter spring, both to our furnitures and honors, and also to the great commodities and use of our peoples, so it will be knowen that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heavens have so much force to separate us as the godly disposition of natural humanitie and mutual benevolence have to joyne us strongly together.' Shah Tahmasp, however, cared little for 'naturall humanitie,' and treated the English ambassador with studied neglect. Before this, however, the western coast of the Caspian had fallen into the hands of the Turks, and trade in that quarter was completely suspended.

In 1579, Christopher Burrough built a vessel on the Volga at Nijni Novgorod, and sailed in it to Baku. On his return voyage the ship was stranded off Nizabad, and a portion of the

cargo thrown overboard and lost. At Derbend, Burrough disposed of his goods to the Turks and purchased another vessel which he loaded with raw silk, but before he could reach the Volga the winter had set in, and the ship was 'cut to pieces by the ice.' The cargo was taken out and put into a boat which, in a temporary thaw, floated out to sea, where it was again frozen up. The crew then abandoned the boat, and struck across over the ice, but lost their way and were nearly starved to death, besides being shot at with arrows by the Nogai Tatars. In the end the cargo was got to Astrakhan, 'and thus ended the British Caspian commerce.'

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, England enjoyed the exclusive privilege of importing foreign commodities into Russia. At that time, even during the continuance of hostilities, caravans—which Jonas Hanway asserts should be spelt 'kiervans'—passed unmolested between Turkey and Persia. After the suppression of Stenka Radzin's rebellion in 1671, and the recovery of Astrakhan from the Cossacks of the Ukraine, Russian and Armenian merchants procured English and Dutch cloths at Archangel, which they passed on into Persia from Astrakhan by means of wretched unseaworthy boats. A Russian factory was also established at Shirwan, but after the plunder of that province in 1721 by the Lesghians, the Russians 'almost quitted the field to the Armenians, who were more enterprising in commerce, as well as more resolute in defending their property.'

Peter the Great reduced a portion of Ghilan in 1722, but the warm moist temperature, together with the abundance of fruit, 'rendered that province the grave of the Russians,' and it was evacuated under the Empress Anne. It was not so much the coasting trade of the Caspian that Peter was anxious to command, as the route to India, China, and above all to the gold mines of 'Little Bucharía,' the exist-

ence of which had been reported by Prince Gagarin, the Governor of Siberia. With this view he despatched in 1716 an expedition of 6000 men in sixty-nine vessels, under the leadership of the Circassian Prince Beckovich, to take possession of the eastern coast of that sea. Three forts were consequently erected: St Peter's on Cape Tup Karaghan, Fort Alexander in the Gulf of Bektirli Ishan, and a third on the Krasnovodsk promontory at the entrance of the Balkan Bay.

In the following year, Prince Beckovich was sent with a force of only 3000 men against the Khan of Khiva. Marching across the Ust Urt plateau, the Prince defeated the Khivans in a pitched battle, whereupon the latter affected to tender their submission, and undertook to conduct the victors to the capital. Leading them through the most desolate tracts, they at length persuaded the Prince to break up his little army into detachments as more likely to obtain a sufficient supply of water for all. They then fell upon the scattered and exhausted troops and cut them to pieces. Prince Beckovich, it is said, refusing to kneel down, had his head hacked off with circumstances of great cruelty—it being even affirmed that he was flayed from his knees upwards, and his skin used to cover a drum. In any case, his head was stuffed with hay, and sent as a present to the ruler of Bokhara. This disaster checked the advance of Russia for a century, though the interval was usefully employed in consolidating her possessions and influence to the north of the Caspian.

So far back as the early part of the 17th century, the Don Cossacks on the Yaik, or Ural, had sworn fealty to Michael Romanof, and in 1732, the Smaller Kirghiz Horde besought the Empress Anne to protect them from their violent neighbours, the Zungarians and Kalmuks. In consequence of that application, the towns of Orsk and Uralsk were connected by a line of fortified stations, and a solid foundation laid for an

advance towards the south-east. The sagacity of Peter had recognized the necessity of first securing his footing in the north, before his ulterior designs could be safely commenced. 'Although these Kirghiz,' he is reported to have said, 'are a roaming and fickle people, their steppe is the key and gate to all the countries of Central Asia.'

In 1734, an English sea-captain, named John Elton, accompanied General Tatishchev to Orenberg, to assist in the erection of a line of forts from Samara\* on the Volga, right across the steppe, to Siberia, a distance of 800 English miles.

'It was presumed,' says Jonas Hanway, 'that these forts would give a check to the inroads of the neighbouring Tartars, particularly the Keergeese, and in time become a means of civilizing them.' Elton himself was sent to explore the Aral, or Blue Sea, as it is termed by the Russians, but failed to penetrate so far in that direction. For four years, however, he was employed in surveying the south-eastern frontiers and rivers, and in the execution of this duty was thrown much among the roving Tatars, as well as among the Sarts or traders from Bokhara, Tashkend, Khojend, and so forth. He thus conceived the idea that, if a safe road could be struck out, a profitable trade in woollen goods might gradually be developed, but it appeared to him, after much reflection, that the only practicable route would be from Astrakan on the north-western, to Astrabad on the south-eastern, extremity of the Caspian Sea.

In 1738, Captain Elton threw up the Russian service in disgust, and finally joined the English Company in St Petersburg. On the 14th March, 1739, he started from Moscow,

\* A 'Prince of Carizme,' it will be remembered by readers of the 'Arabian Nights,' was taken prisoner by 'the Samars,' a tribe of Cannibals who devoured his companions, and only spared himself because of the love he had inspired in their Princess.

in company with Mr Mungo Graeme, and in charge of a small cargo of goods specially selected for the markets of Khiva and Bokhara. After undergoing much risk and fatigue by land and by river, the two adventurers reached Astrakan on the 14th May, and on the 21st June landed their goods at Enzelli, the port of Resht, and eight miles distant from that important city. An *ad valorem* duty of five per cent. was here levied upon their merchandise, but the Regent, Riza Kouli Khan, Nadir's eldest son, granted them a satisfactory charter, armed with which Elton returned to St Petersburg.

The British merchants in that capital induced him to draw up a memorial for presentation to the British Minister, urging the expediency of establishing factories at both Resht and Meshed. The last-named place was at that time the chief emporium of the trade between Bokhara, Tangut, Tibet, Kabul, and India, and it was thought that woollen stuffs would yield there a better profit than in Russia, where long credit had to be given, whereas in the eastern marts not only were prices higher, but goods were paid for on delivery. 'The British merchants,' it was stated, 'can never be supplanted in this trade so long as they secure a passage for their goods through the empire of Russia, and a freedom of navigation on the Caspian, both which it will be the interest of the sovereign of Russia to grant to the subjects of Great Britain.'

Elton proposed that the Company should build at Kazan one or two vessels of 180 tons each, with crews half English, half Russian, for the navigation of the Caspian, and some large boats for the transport of goods on the Volga. At that time it took ninety-five days to convey merchandise from St Petersburg to Resht: that is, twenty to Moscow; thence thirty-five to Tzaritzin; thence again, ten to Astrakan; and thirty more to Resht, including quarantine. From Smyrna to Resht was a journey of seventy days, by way of Erzeroum, Tabriz, and

Ardebil; and from Resht to Aleppo, sixty days. The charges from London to Resht amounted to about 34 per cent. on the value set forth in the invoices, and on raw silk from Resht to London to about 36 per cent. The trade between Persia and England, however, had almost ceased to exist. By the Treaty of 1734, English merchants were authorized to convey all kinds of merchandise through Russia to Persia, on payment of three per cent. *ad valorem* in rix-dollars 'for the duty and transit of such goods;' and the like amount was exacted for goods passing from Persia to England.

The Turkey merchants naturally exerted their utmost interest to impede the new route, while those engaged in the Russian trade fiercely attacked the privileges enjoyed by the former, and declared that they were hurtful even to the commerce they were intended to foster. On the other hand, the Turkey Company complained that they had to pay £8000 a year towards the maintenance of a British Embassy at Constantinople, and of consuls and other public officers—these charges amounting in 1740 to four per cent. on their gross returns. They therefore demanded a bounty on woollen goods for exportation, together with a reduction of duty on imports of Turkish silk and grograms.

The Russian Company made no such demands, and it was open to any one to go into the trade 'on the common terms of the small fine or contribution of five pounds.' The Charter of this Company dated from the 1st and 2nd of Philip and Mary, and originally conferred upon them the monopoly of the trade with Russia. In 1741, Parliament having duly considered the claims of the two rival Companies, empowered the Russian Company to import Persian produce if obtained in exchange for British manufactures, and not purchased by money—for the latter case the penalty was forfeiture. Persian manufactures could only be sent to English ports for exportation, and might



not be worn in this country, without contravening an Act of William III., entitled, 'An Act for the more effectual employing the poor by encouraging the manufactures of this kingdom.'

The Russian Company upon this despatched agents to Ghilan with a cargo of English goods, and at the same time Mr John Elton was sent out as supercargo in the ship he had built at Kazan, with Captain Woodroofe as commander. Elton, however, almost immediately accepted service under Nadir Shah as Superintendent of the Persian coast of the Caspian, 'with design to build ships in the European manner if it should be found practicable.' This was no easy task, as might have been foreseen from his own and Captain Woodroofe's experience at Kazan. That energetic mariner relates how he laid the ship's keel and fixed stem and stern posts on the 15th January, 1741, but could find 'neither boat-builder, rigger, or sail-maker' in the place. Nevertheless, he contrived to launch the vessel, which was 65 feet in length, on the 30th May, and on 'July the 10th we stept our masts and bowsprit and set the rigging over-head.' All the following winter they were frozen up, but on the 25th April, 1741, being the coronation day of the Empress Elizaveta Petrovna, they fired a salute, drank her Imperial Majesty's health, and baptized their ship by the name of 'Elizabeth.'

When all was ready Captain Woodroofe started under full sail, at which the Russians expressed great admiration and 'represented the danger of running aground, but their apprehensions did not intimidate us.' While descending the Volga they were attacked by pirates, but on their firing into the nearest boat and mortally wounding five or six of their assailants, they were suffered to proceed without further molestation. Astrakan was reached on the 23rd May, after a voyage of twenty-eight days, and the adventurers were hospitably enter-

tained and warmly complimented by the governor and other official personages.

Peter the Great, it is true, had kept up a flotilla on the Caspian, of which the largest vessel was of a circular form and 180 tons burden. When laden, it was bound round with hawsers to prevent it from bursting and falling to pieces. But in 1742 the Russians employed only long flat-bottomed barges with square sails—the topsails to haul down upon the deck: ‘with such vessels, by the help of good ground tackle, they navigate the Caspian.’ The cordage was exceedingly strong, as were also the anchors, though ill-shaped and of an ancient fashion. The new anchors turned out by the famous Demidofs in Siberia are pronounced inferior to these, but the canvas procured from Yarislav and Moscow is mentioned with commendation.

At that time very little was known of the Caspian, but it was believed that rocks and shoals were numerous. ‘The natives of those inhospitable shores,’ writes Captain Woodroffe, ‘except the Russians, having hardly employed their imperfect navigation to any other purpose than to surprise and plunder their unguarded neighbours. Thus it was with the Tartars and Persians till the Russian army brought the one into subjection; and, awing the other, gained an entire jurisdiction over this great Mediterranean lake.’ The Kalmuk Tatars were deprived of all their large boats, and permitted only to retain their small fishing craft. The ‘Elizabeth,’ drawing upwards of eight feet when laden, showed clearly a great advance in ship-building.

The Russian exports to Persia, chiefly for the account of the Armenians established in Ghilan, consisted of red leather, linens, woollen cloths, and European manufactures; and their imports of silk sashes embroidered with gold ‘for the consumption of the Polanders,’ wrought silks and stuffs, mixed with rice, cotton, a few drugs, and raw silk. ‘They also

bring rhubarb, but as the Government has engrossed this article, private persons are forbid to deal in it under penalty of death.' Rhubarb was then carried into Russia by Tatars from Yakutski, who travelled through Siberia to Samara, Kazan, and Moscow.

Captain Woodroofe, acting upon instructions received from Captain Elton, still his superior, though actually in the service of Nadir Shah, carefully surveyed the Caspian Sea, and reported Balkan Bay and the adjacent islands to be a nest of pirates. Nadir, accordingly, proposed to erect a fort there to overawe the Toorkomans, but it was reserved for another sovereign and people to take that step in the interests of civilization. The scarcity of fresh water was also noticed by the English commander, for it was nowhere obtainable except in the Island of Naphtonia, so called from its naphtha springs, but which is known to the Persians as Cherrikan, or Cheleken.

When the Russians first began to navigate the Caspian, about the middle of the 16th century, there was only five feet of water off the mouth of the Volga. In 1722 Peter the Great found a depth of six feet, which had doubled twenty years later and the water had become salt. At some distance from the shore no soundings could be had with a line of 450 fathoms. It was remarked that the depth within the preceding thirty years had everywhere perceptibly increased, and that the sea was making inroads on the low coast to the north-west, and at Lengarood on the south, while at Astrabad there was twelve feet of water where only fifty years before there was a ford used by donkeys. Much the same state of things was observed in Balkan Bay. According to local tradition the water rose for thirty years and then fell for a corresponding period, but Jonas Hanway was disposed to assign as a cause for the increased depth a long series of cool summers, during which the evaporation had been less than usual.

Of late years there has been a marked diminution of the volume of water in this inland sea. It was stated by Mr Delmar Morgan, at the meeting of the British Association at Bradford, that 'The Caspian Sea, in its northern part, as far as Cape Karaghan, is ill-suited to navigation, owing to its extreme shallowness. South of Cape Karaghan, as far as Balkan, the sea is deep and good anchorage abundant. The most remarkable feature of the Caspian Sea,' he continued, 'is its deposit of salt in Karabugaz Bay, which is connected with the Caspian by a strait not more than 125 fathoms wide, and four fathoms deep. The flow of water through the strait is never less than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  versts (a verst equals two-thirds of an English mile), sometimes attaining a velocity of five versts per hour. The natural explanation of this phenomenon is the evaporation caused by the intense heats and the consequent diminution of the water, which can only be supplied by the flow of water from the Caspian, and the vast quantity of salt thus deposited has converted the shores into a saline marsh, where no creature can exist.' The change in the rainfall of Persia and the gradual desiccation of that country have, of course, much to do with the contraction of the area of the Caspian, just as the diminished rainfall in Toorkestan has caused the Aral to shrink within its borders since quite a recent period.

While Woodroffe was engaged in surveying the sea, Elton was occupied in the more difficult task of building ships. In Ghilan, we are told, he found timber, but no roads for its transport, while Mazanderan furnished abundance of iron ore, but no iron-smith to work it. Nothing daunted, he fished up old Russian anchors, made sail-cloth of cotton and cordage of flax, and collected a few Indians and Russian renegades, whom he placed under a ship's carpenter he had borrowed from Woodroffe. 'Thus he contended with numerous and almost insuperable difficulties; but his spirit was equal to the most arduous enterprise.'

His English employers, however, regarded all this energy as misdirected, so long as it was not employed to their advantage, while the Russian Government naturally took umbrage at his assiduity in raising up a rival power on the Caspian. The Russian Company, therefore, deputed one of their most intelligent and sagacious partners to proceed to Russia, and if necessary to Persia, to restore the balance of their affairs. He himself tells us that when he was on the point of starting from London in 1743, Mr Richard Lockwood, a Turkey merchant, made the prescient remark: 'Either you will teach the Russians how to trade, and become an object of their jealousy, if you have success in this enterprise, or you will be plundered in Persia; and in either case your trade cannot last long.' The annual value of English exports to Russia did not then exceed £220,000, while the imports from that country were estimated at only double that amount. Indeed, the cargo of broad cloth with which Jonas Hanway sailed from Astrakan was worth no more than £5000, and the venture was thought to be on a respectable scale.

It is clear that natives of India must have been engaged in considerable numbers in the Russian trade, for a Hindoo temple is mentioned among the sights of Astrakan. 'The object of their adoration was a Pagod, ugly and deformed to a degree of horror.' Some of the fruits offered to the idol were presented to the Englishman, who declined the courtesy, 'not without some melancholy reflections on the abject state to which human reason is frequently reduced.'\*

\* Some forty years later George Forster, in his overland journey from Bengal to England, met with a hundred Hindoo merchants, or thereabout, lodged in two Karavanserais at Herat, 'who by the maintenance of a brisk commerce and extending a long chain of credit have become valuable subjects to the Government; but, discouraged by the insolent and often oppressive treatment of the Persians, they are rarely induced to bring their women into this country.'

Failing to dispose of his wares in Ghilan, Hanway proceeded to Astrabad; but while he was vainly seeking for a market, the town was taken and pillaged by Mohammed Hosein Khan, chief of the Kajar Toorkomans and ancestor of the present Shah, Nusser-ood-deen. The place, however, was soon recovered by Nadir's troops, and Hanway, having contrived to escape from the hands of his captors, made his way to Kasvin, where he obtained from that monarch an order to recoup him for his losses. In 1744 he returned to Astrakan with a cargo of Persian silk.

The Russian Government, however, could no longer brook the resolute attitude of defiance assumed by John Elton, who had even compelled a merchant vessel of that nation to lower her flag to a Persian ship of war, which he had built for Nadir, carrying twenty three-pounders, and which was more than a match for anything then possessed by Russia on those waters. It was in vain that the Company recalled their refractory agent, who wrote to the Committee that he never conceived his building a few ships for the Shah could give umbrage to such a powerful sovereign as the Empress. British subjects, he continued, were in the habit of serving Russia by land and by sea, while many Russian subjects resided in Great Britain with the avowed purpose of becoming acquainted with the arts and sciences, and yet no foreign powers took offence. No doubt, as the Company's trade passed through her dominions, it was in the power of the Empress to put a stop to it, but in that case what was the use of a Treaty of Commerce, if the acts of a private individual could thus destroy the rights and privileges formally granted to a nation by such Treaty?

Nadir Shah, on his part, regarded the conduct of the Englishman in a very different light. By a decree of the 19th November, 1745, he positively forbade Elton to leave Persia, describing him as 'the properest of the Christians,' and confer-

ring upon him the title of Gernal Beg, or 'the Well-favoured Knight.' The latter end of this brave and energetic adventurer was very sad. Like most men of decided character, he had made many enemies, and in the anarchy that ensued upon Nadir's death he was forced to capitulate to two Persian Chiefs, against whom he had fortified his house and garden. Regardless of the solemn engagement they had taken to spare his life, these men sentenced him to be hanged, but at length so far humoured his prejudice that they suffered him to be shot, instead of ending his life on the gallows.

The Company had already ceased to exist. In November, 1746, the Empress Elizabeth issued a decree prohibiting the transit of English goods to Persia through Russia, and consequently the Company were compelled to sell their two ships on the Caspian at a great loss to Russian merchants at Astrakan. 'The Russians, however,' Jonas Hanway philosophically remarks, 'benefitted by our loss, received no small advantage from the models we left them, and by learning of us in those parts, as they had before done in St Petersburg, the use of the best materials for ship-building.' He did not, indeed, look upon the suppression of the Caspian trade as any great national loss, and it certainly appears to have been on a ridiculously small scale. Though one hundred and fifty persons were concerned in it, in the five years from 1742 to 1746, both inclusive, the total exports of British goods by this route amounted to no more than £172,623, while the imports of raw silk, according to the price paid in Persia, did not exceed £93,375.

One result of the suppression of this route was the development of the trade with China, the duty on Chinese raw silk being shortly afterwards reduced. Nadir Shah had made a feeble attempt to do business with Russia on his own account, and, as a preliminary venture, had sent 200 bales of raw silk to Moscow in charge of a trusty agent, but all manner of

obstacles were placed in his way, and the transaction proved so unsatisfactory that he was not tempted to repeat the experiment.

The only check since experienced by Russia in establishing her supremacy on the Caspian partook of the ludicrous. In 1781 a Russian squadron, consisting of four frigates and two armed sloops, anchored in the Bay of Ashrof, and extorted from Aga Mohammed, the Kajar Chief, a reluctant permission to build a factory at a point on the coast some miles distant. When the works were nearly completed the wily Persian invited the Russian Commander, Count Voinovich, and his principal officers to a grand banquet at one of his hunting lodges in the mountains, and on their arrival placed them in irons. Under the threat of the gallows, Voinovich sent off a peremptory order for the demolition of the 'factory,' which had taken the form of a fortified post mounted with eighteen guns. When the walls had been thrown down and the guns re-embarked, the Russians were released and sent back to their ships with insult and contumely.

The commercial relations of Russia with Khiva date from the 14th century, but the first official communication took place in 1557, after the reduction of Kazan and Astrakan by Ivan the Terrible, when envoys were sent by the ruler of Khwarezm to obtain for his subjects permission to trade with the Muscovites. Similar missions were despatched in 1566 and 1583, but in 1602 the Ural Cossaks descended upon the Khanat and plundered the capital. On their homeward march across the steppe, however, they were overtaken and defeated with considerable slaughter.

Twenty years later a fourth embassy proceeded to Russia on matters relating to trade, but in 1700 Khan Shamuz offered to pay an annual tribute on condition that Peter the Great rendered him aid against his rivals. The offer was accepted,



ample for the conquest and tenure of the country. The iron work was done in the mean time by Russian slaves, and from Russia came the copper and glass. Wheat was still ground by the hand in primitive fashion. The population was evidently under-estimated by the Russian envoy at 300,000, of whom 10,000 are assigned by him to the 3000 houses, or hovels, that constituted the town of Khiva.

The true capital was Urghunj, the population of which was considerably larger, and consisted chiefly of Sarts. There were besides, three smaller towns, and several large villages. The fortifications were everywhere insignificant, and the regular army did not exceed 12,000 horsemen,—infantry there was none,—but on one occasion the Khan marched to the Caspian at the head of 20,000 mounted warriors. The chiefs dwelt in square fortified houses in the midst of spacious gardens, built mostly of earth and without even a ditch to impede the approach of an enemy. Their chief amusements were hawking, and playing at draughts in the Russian fashion. In the matter of musical instruments, they preferred the drum, triangle, and trumpet, to all others.

Mohammed Raheem Khan, the ruler, was a man of lofty stature and robust frame, with a piercing eye. Though of a cruel, implacable disposition, he had a kindly expression of countenance, and, with his short white beard, might have been taken for a Russian. He had at that time renounced his propensity for spirits, and was content with seven wives. He lived almost permanently in a kибитка, and was satisfied with plain fare. He was fond of watching a game of chess played by his courtiers, and was warmly addicted to the chase. He would sleep mostly in the day time, and worked all night. Though maintaining the semblance of a Council, his government was purely personal, and his ministers were almost exclusively of alien extraction.

The penal code was severe and barbarous. Criminals were not unfrequently hanged by the feet till death slowly intervened.

At other times they were impaled, and endured that horrible torture for two whole days. When the bastinado was inflicted, the stick would be impartially applied to every part of the person. Any one discovered in the enjoyment of the forbidden luxury of smoking, had his mouth split from ear to ear. A slave detected in a second attempt to escape from bondage was nailed by the ear to a stake or doorpost, and there left to die of starvation. The punishment of decapitation had been abolished, and the privilege of being buried alive was reserved for heretics and ambassadors.

The Khan's revenue is put down at £160,000, but it must be borne in mind that neither Oozbegs nor Toorkomans were liable to taxation. A mint had been established, but the currency was of very limited dimensions. Business, too, seems to have been conducted in a leisurely manner. A Khivan, being asked the distance to Bokhara, made answer; 'A merchant arrives there on the seventh day,—a robber on the third.'

Nothing came of Captain Mouravief's mission, though the Khan sent some agents to accompany the Russian envoy to the head-quarters of the Commander-in-chief in the Caucasus, ostensibly to concert measures for a joint attack upon the Toorkomans, but in reality to gain time and put off the evil day. Equally fruitless was the mission of Colonel von Berg—the late Field-Marshal von Berg—who landed at Mangishlak in 1825, with an extremely small retinue, and struck boldly across the desert to Khiva. Three months later he was back in Orenberg, without having accomplished any perceptible object.

Nothing more was done for fifteen years, but in 1839 General Perofski was instructed to proceed with a strong force from Orenberg to chastise the Khivan kidnappers. Unfor-

unately, that gallant and accomplished officer chose the winter season for his march, with a view to supply by snow the deficiency of water in the desert. The expedition consisted of 5000 picked men, with 10,000 camels for the transport of provisions and ammunition. No expense had been spared in clothing and equipping the troops, and nothing worse was apprehended than what could be endured and overcome by courage and constancy. On the 16th November divine service was solemnly performed, after which the following proclamation was read aloud at the head of each regiment :

GENERAL PEROFSKI TO THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

‘His Majesty the Emperor has commanded me to lead a portion of the troops under my orders against Khiva. For many years past Khiva has been sorely trying the patience of her great and generous neighbour, and courted the thunder-storm now about to discharge itself over her head. Honour and glory to all who enjoy the advantage of taking part in an expedition intended to liberate so many of our brethren, kidnapped by the enemy, and living in ignominious slavery in a foreign land. Comrades ! the frost and the snow storm, and all the inevitable hardships of a prolonged march in the steppe at this inclement season await us ; but every precaution has been taken to diminish the difficulties incidental to our task, and your zeal, your patriotism, and manliness will do the rest and secure success. It is for the first time that such a considerable force of the Orenburg Corps marches against the enemy ; it is the first time that Russia undertakes to punish her wild and perjured neighbours of Khiva. Two months hence we shall, with the Divine assistance, be in the hostile capital, there erecting the cross which is the symbol of our faith, and offering up prayers for Czar and country. I cannot conclude without saying a word to those troops remaining at Orenburg,

in charge of their country's frontier. You are not lucky enough to share our danger and our toil; but you are none the less worthy of all honour and the gracious consideration of His Majesty the Emperor. In bidding farewell to us, you will remember that you, too, have a sacred duty to fulfil during our absence. You will remember your oath, and that you have to acquit yourselves of your service with twofold zeal now that such a large number of your comrades are detailed for a special object. In due time we shall return to you, when you will march out to give a brotherly greeting to your fellow-soldiers, coming home from distant and difficult service.'

The march commenced on the following day. The Emba, a distance of 350 miles, was reached in about thirty days, but upwards of 3000 camels had already perished, and the sufferings of the soldiers could only be compared with those that had proved fatal to the French in their retreat from Moscow. Still they persevered, and in another month had gained the oasis of Ak Boulak, to the north-east of the Karabughaz Bay. Only 2000 camels now remained, and these utterly attenuated and exhausted. The condition of the men was truly pitiable, and threatened to become much worse, as their Kirghiz camel-drivers and guides here suddenly abandoned them, carrying off in their flight no small number of those indispensable beasts of burden. The distance to the city of Khiva was still 300 miles, and it was painfully manifest that even if the mere journey could be performed, the fighting power of the troops was already destroyed. To push on any further would have been an act of sheer madness. A retreat was accordingly decided upon, and the miserable remnants of the gallant column that had so hopefully marched out from Orenberg that cold November morning, straggled back as well as they could, famished and frost-bitten, with hundreds of their comrades lying stiff and stark in the snow upon the plateau.

The time was not ripe for the conquest of the Khanat of Khiva. 'Had Russia,' observes General Abbott, 'succeeded in creeping to Khiva, the affairs of Asia must have undergone a revolution, the consequences of which would not have closed perhaps with the present or coming century; and would probably have embroiled all the principal nations of Europe in tumult and war.' He further expresses a hope that England will 'regard as a breach of mutual confidence any future encroachment of Russia upon the territories of Khaurism.'

At that conjuncture a somewhat jealous rivalry in Central Asia threatened to embitter the political relations of Russia and England. About the time that General Perofski was supposed to be at Khiva, it was in contemplation to despatch a British force across the Bamian Pass in pursuit of Dost Mohammed. This project appears to have been discussed in an interview between Baron Brunow and Sir John Cam Hobhouse, at which the Russian ambassador is reported to have said: 'If we go on at this rate, Sir John, the Cossack and the Sepoy will soon meet upon the banks of the Oxus.' 'Very probably, Baron,' replied the President of the Board of Control; 'but however much I should regret the collision, I should have no fear of the result.'

There is much reason to believe that the siege of Herat by the Persians, in 1837, was the result of Russian intrigue, and it is certain that Count Simonich, the Russian minister at the court of Teheran, took an active part in the siege operations. Not less energetically, if less openly, did Captain Vicovich labour to poison Dost Mohammed's mind, and lower the British prestige in his estimation. Admitting that the English had anticipated his own countrymen in civilization by a couple of centuries, he added that they were no longer a military nation, but simply 'the merchants of Europe.' It is true that the action of both these officers was subsequently repudiated by Count Nesselrode, but in such cases it is not unfair to apply the

old test *Cui bono?* and it is clear that these over-zealous agents had no personal interests to serve by embroiling Great Britain with Persia and Afghanistan.

After the Persians had been compelled to raise the siege of Herat, the British resident, Major d'Arcy Todd, conceived the idea of opening up direct communication with Oollah Kouli Khan, the ruler of Khiva. He accordingly sent to that potentate, in June, 1839, a handsome rifle and a complimentary letter, by the hands of a Mohammedan priest. In return, the Khan despatched an Oozbeg envoy in company with the priest, and charged him to present the British agent with 'a broken down nag,' and a letter of inquiry as to the character of the support he might expect from his new ally. The Khan subsequently told Major, now General Abbott, that he had never heard of the English until some one chanced to mention Captain Pottinger's bravery at Herat. None of his courtiers, however, could give him any information as to what manner of men they were, and he himself supposed that they were a petty tribe of the Russian nation in a state of rebellion; but, shortly afterwards, he learned that they had conquered Hindostan and invaded the kingdom of Kabul.

As the most effectual means of satisfying the Khan's reasonable inquisitiveness, Major Todd deputed his subordinate, Major Abbott, an artillery officer of exceptional intelligence and hardihood, to represent Great Britain at the court of Khiva, but the paltry gifts within his means to offer as a sample of British skill and opulence were a too common illustration of the niggardly spirit that characterizes our dealings with petty states, and our chronic unreadiness to meet unexpected contingencies. As Balzac remarks, *Le despotisme fait illégalement de grandes choses, et la liberté ne se donne pas la peine d'en faire légalement de très petites.*

The first part of the journey—for the envoy started on

Christmas Eve, 1839 — lay across mountain ranges covered with snow, and over trackless plains claimed by a Toorkoman tribe calling themselves Jamshedies, who bartered their sheep and horses for slaves, at the rate of two human beings for a horse barely worth £15 of English money. Major Abbott seems to have been much pleased with his first glimpse of desert life. 'The Toorkoman tents,' he says, 'are the most comfortable dwellings in this serene climate. A house cannot be adapted to the vicissitudes of heat and cold which mark the year. Whereas by removing a portion of the felt covering, this tent is open to the air in summer; and in winter a fire lighted in the centre makes it the warmest of retreats, all the smoke rising through the skylight in the roof: not to mention the great advantage of being able to migrate, dwelling and all, to a sunny or sheltered spot.' He enjoyed also the Toorkoman breakfast of home-made macaroni, rolled in broad thin cakes cut into strips by a sword, and stewed with *kooroot*, milk, and syrup of grape juice, followed by a mutton and bread stew.

Early marriages are the rule among these wanderers. Boys become husbands at fourteen, and girls are wives at eleven or twelve. To each young couple is assigned a separate tent, the furniture being provided by the bride according to the price that has been paid for her, and the daughter of a well-to-do Jamshedie is often worth £70 to her father, a widower being constrained to pay double that sum for his second venture in the matrimonial market. Women, however, are never permitted to eat in company with men.

The horses are famed for their endurance. A mounted messenger will cover the 360 miles that intervene between Merv and Khiva in six days, on the same animal, carrying on his crupper, 60 lbs. of barley, 20 lbs. of horse-clothing, and food and water for his own use. On the other hand, the grass was alive with venomous snakes, panthers prowled about at

night, and the tents swarmed with 'the familiar beasts which signify love.'

The once populous town of Merv was reduced to a miserable hamlet, consisting of about one hundred mud hovels clustered round a mud fort, while the population of the entire province was estimated at no more than 60,000 families spread over a plain measuring sixty miles by forty. Here the envoy was entertained by the Khaloofauh, or High Priest.

'After some discourse water and a basin were brought round, and we washed our hands, drying them, as usual, on our handkerchiefs. Then a filthy cloth of chintz, greased to the consistence of leather, was spread on the ground before us. It is considered thankless to wash from a table cloth the stains of former banquets, or to suffer a crumb to be lost. Upon the table cloth metallic trays were set, containing pilaus, hot and very greasy. Tucking up my right sleeve, I set to work, spilling half the rice into my lap, and making little way against the practised fists and elbows of the priests. As for the Khaloofauh, he showed himself a man of might in the mysteries of the table, tearing large handfuls of mutton from the bone, as a bear might claw the scalp from a human victim, and plunging elbow-deep into the hot and greasy rice. With fists greased above the wrists, we sat waiting for the water which was to wash off the slush upon our fingers, and eventually be absorbed, with a large mass of highly-scented mutton fat and gravy, by our handkerchiefs, haunting us for the rest of the day with the stale smell of pilaus.'

From Merv to Khiva the route lay across a sandy plain with an exceedingly irregular surface, high ridges and deep hollows continually alternating, with here and there patches of wormwood and camel's thorn. Wells were found only at long intervals—in one instance of 160 miles—and the water was generally brackish. Fodder for the horses had to be conveyed,



as well as food for the riders, camels being invariably employed as the beasts of burden. On the way, Major Abbott overtook a caravan bound for the same bourne as himself.

‘They had brought,’ he says, ‘grain from Khiva, and are returning thither laden with slaves, many of whom are natives of Heraut. The whole number, men, women, and children, may be about 25. Some of the women are very decently clad, and seemed to have been in good circumstances until seized for this inhuman traffic. One poor female was mounted a-straddle upon a camel behind her master. Her child, an infant, was lodged in a grain bag hanging from the saddle. This poor wretch has an inhuman master, and is the picture of misery. Her master has lost two children to the Persians, and is trying by this horrible trade to raise money for the purchase of their freedom. But the men are chained together by the throats at night, so that rest is scarcely possible, while the contact of the frozen iron with their skin must be a torture. For them also no carriage is found, they walk the whole way, every step of which renders their captivity more hopeless.’

On the 12th day from Merv, the capital of Khiva appeared on the horizon, and a messenger was sent forward to notify the arrival of the British envoy, who was lodged for the night ‘in a respectable dwelling, some little distance’ outside the town, described as ‘such a place as an English farmer would use as a wood or coal house.’ Next morning he was conducted to a ‘Palace,’ nearer to the town, by the Welcomer of Guests, escorted by horsemen well mounted and armed with matchlock rifles.

‘After riding a couple of miles,’ Major Abbott continues, ‘the town of Khiva appeared on our right, and we entered a country, laid out in gardens and dwellings of the gentry. The houses have all one character, being an enclosure of very lofty clay walls, flanked by ornamental towers at the angles, which give them the appearance of castles. This name (Gullab) they

bear at Khiva. The exterior has but one visible opening, which is the entrance, lying generally between two towers, and being a spacious gateway, flat above, and roofed throughout, to its termination in the court behind the house, or rather, within the enclosure. On one side of this, a door admits to the men's apartments, and on the other side the women's quarters are constructed. The walls, built with great regularity of rammed clay, are generally fluted, an effect given them perhaps by the hurdles of straight branches, between which the clay is supported while soft, and during the process of ramming. The gardens are surrounded by very low walls of similar construction, allowing the eye to command many estates from a single point of view.'

The house assigned to the envoy was a large building with several wretched rooms, ill-shaped, unfloored, unplastered, and without windows or chimneys. A hole in the roof let out the smoke and admitted the light. The principal room had been spread with felt, and was closed by a heavy rough-hewn door, turning on pivots. In the centre was a hearth for burning charcoal. The magnificent sum of twenty-eight shillings a-day was allowed by the Khan for his maintenance, but of this one-half was filched by the Mehtur, or Prime Minister. He dined not badly, however, off a pheasant pillao, sweetened with raisins. The butter, too, was eatable, and was made over a very slow fire, the milk being constantly skimmed. The skimmings being put into jars, in which they kept fresh for months. But the cold was intense. Liquids were instantaneously changed into solids, and, if the door was opened, towels grew rigid, though a fire was burning in the room.


The dry serene atmosphere seemed to sparkle, and at night, when all else was still, sounds of aerial music filled the stranger with wonder and delight. The cause of these fairy-like sounds was sufficiently simple and prosaic. The Khivans, it seems,

Palace, nor was he ever visited by any of the nobles, who, besides, had very little intercourse with one another.

The Khan of Khiva, says M. Vambéry, is titular cup-bearer to the Sultan of Turkey. His chief officers in 1840 were the Mehtur or Wuseer, and the Khoosh Begi or Grand Falconer, who was also the Commander-in-Chief. The priests, from among whom were chosen the Kazia, acknowledged two heads, the Nuqeeb and the Sheik-ool-Islam. The Khan alone had power to pass sentence of death. The revenue had sensibly increased since Captain Mouravief's visit, when it was estimated at £160,000 per annum. At least, Major Abbott computes the annual receipts at £285,900, of which nearly the whole amount found its way into the private treasury of the Khan, who paid neither the police nor the salaries of official personages. Taxes were levied upon houses, upon property, and upon merchandise. The Oozbegs paid from six to thirty-six shillings on each house, and the Toorkomans and Kuzzaks one in forty, or two-and-a-half per cent., on their live stock. There were, besides, duties on imported and on liberated slaves, and upon wheat and tobacco for exportation.

The settled inhabitants were required to furnish in war time an armed horseman for every fifty chains of arable land—but there must be some mistake in these figures, and for fifty it may be safer to read 500. The Nomads were expected to equip one horseman for four families, and while on active service the pay was usually about £3 for each expedition, every man finding himself in provisions. The Oozbegs, it was calculated, could turn out 50,000 men, the Toorkomans 25,000, the Kuzzaks 25,000, and the Kizilbashes 8,000; in all 108,000; but the largest muster on record was one of 85,000 men.


The population of the Khanat was set down by Major Abbott at a little over two-and-a-half millions, and consisted of 500,000 Oozbegs, 500,000 Toorkomans—divided into 91,700



families—200,000 Karakalpaks, 500,000 Kuzzaks, 100,000 Sarts, 30,000 Kalmuks, 20,000 Kizilbashs, and 700,000 slaves, of whom 30,000 were Persians. Taking the area of the Khanat at 450,000 square miles—that is, assuming the extreme length of the kingdom at 750 miles, and the extreme breadth at 600—this would give only five-and-a-half to the square mile.

Among the wild animals and birds of the country are mentioned lions, tigers, leopards, bears, panthers, wolves, foxes, dromedaries, two-humped camels, goats, sheep like deer, but with the head of a goat and the horns of a sheep, antelopes, asses, hogs, hares, jerboas, pheasants, partridges—also the red-legged variety—quail, woodcock, snipe, swans, geese, ducks, fowls, ravens, crows, magpies (in flocks), plovers, larks, and kingfishers. Though situated in the same latitude as Rome, the Amou in Khiva is frozen for four months in the year, and in sheltered spots the snow lies in drifts five or six feet deep till quite late in the summer. But while the cold in winter is irresistible, the heat of summer is scarcely less intolerable, and sleep beneath a roof is unattainable. Even linen clothing is a burden.

In subsequent interviews the Khan grew more communicative, and gave an account of his dispute with Russia, differing in many respects from that put forth by the Government of St Petersburg. He said that, about twenty years previously, his father stopped a caravan escorted by 200 Russian soldiers, from penetrating into Bokhara from the eastern side of the Aral. At that time Khiva and Bokhara were at war with one another, and his father was reasonably apprehensive of the advantage the enemy would derive from such a potent auxiliary. The caravan was accordingly assailed by clouds of Kuzzak and Toorkoman horse, but the Russians defended themselves with such obstinate valour that they were suffered to withdraw into their own territories without further molestation. Again, in




and the women, in a low, hoarse, guttural voice, as if they were speaking to themselves, or to some one in the distance. The women, who were all of the same age, and of the same race, were all of the same height, and of the same build. They were all of the same color, and of the same complexion. They were all of the same dress, and of the same appearance. They were all of the same manner, and of the same behavior. They were all of the same character, and of the same disposition. They were all of the same mind, and of the same heart. They were all of the same soul, and of the same spirit. They were all of the same body, and of the same flesh. They were all of the same blood, and of the same veins. They were all of the same bones, and of the same marrow. They were all of the same skin, and of the same hair. They were all of the same eyes, and of the same nose. They were all of the same mouth, and of the same tongue. They were all of the same ears, and of the same hearing. They were all of the same feet, and of the same walking. They were all of the same hands, and of the same touching. They were all of the same fingers, and of the same grasping. They were all of the same thumbs, and of the same pointing. They were all of the same toes, and of the same standing. They were all of the same legs, and of the same bending. They were all of the same arms, and of the same reaching. They were all of the same shoulders, and of the same carrying. They were all of the same backs, and of the same supporting. They were all of the same chests, and of the same breathing. They were all of the same abdomens, and of the same digesting. They were all of the same pelvises, and of the same excreting. They were all of the same vaginas, and of the same coitus. They were all of the same uteri, and of the same gestation. They were all of the same ovaries, and of the same menstruation. They were all of the same breasts, and of the same lactation. They were all of the same nipples, and of the same suckling. They were all of the same areolae, and of the same nursing. They were all of the same teats, and of the same feeding. They were all of the same nipples, and of the same suckling. They were all of the same areolae, and of the same nursing. They were all of the same teats, and of the same feeding.

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Kids and young men and women—very different from the older people in the same ways and with a more freedom. The women, who were all of the same age, and of the same race, were all of the same height, and of the same build. They were all of the same color, and of the same complexion. They were all of the same dress, and of the same appearance. They were all of the same manner, and of the same behavior. They were all of the same character, and of the same disposition. They were all of the same mind, and of the same heart. They were all of the same soul, and of the same spirit. They were all of the same body, and of the same flesh. They were all of the same blood, and of the same veins. They were all of the same bones, and of the same marrow. They were all of the same skin, and of the same hair. They were all of the same eyes, and of the same nose. They were all of the same mouth, and of the same tongue. They were all of the same ears, and of the same hearing. They were all of the same feet, and of the same walking. They were all of the same hands, and of the same touching. They were all of the same fingers, and of the same grasping. They were all of the same thumbs, and of the same pointing. They were all of the same toes, and of the same standing. They were all of the same legs, and of the same bending. They were all of the same arms, and of the same reaching. They were all of the same shoulders, and of the same carrying. They were all of the same backs, and of the same supporting. They were all of the same chests, and of the same breathing. They were all of the same abdomens, and of the same digesting. They were all of the same pelvises, and of the same excreting. They were all of the same vaginas, and of the same coitus. They were all of the same uteri, and of the same gestation. They were all of the same ovaries, and of the same menstruation. They were all of the same breasts, and of the same lactation. They were all of the same nipples, and of the same suckling. They were all of the same areolae, and of the same nursing. They were all of the same teats, and of the same feeding.

On the 1st of April the British envoy reached the desert of the Kuzzaks, a beardless race, living almost wholly on the milk of sheep, mares, and camels, with occasionally a little camel's flesh salted and boiled. Their dislike of 'villanous saltpetre' is not inferior to the aversion avowed by Sir John Falstaff, and of artillery they entertain a superstitious dread. Men and women dress alike. Ignorant, or careless, of the use of linen, they content themselves with a mantle of the half-tanned skin of a sheep or young camel, with the wool turned inside, and sometimes of the skin of a horse, with the hair outside. The women are said to be too red and too robust, and, 'perhaps,' the ugliest in the world.

In ten days more the Caspian was sighted, but not a single sail broke the monotony of the blue expanse, for quite recently the Toorkomans had set fire to every Russian vessel upon which they could lay their hands. Rejecting the proposition of his treacherous guide that he should purchase a boat and a couple of Russian slaves, and make for an island about five hours' sail from the shore, where he would be certain to find shipping, Major Abbott resolved to push on to the Russian outpost, about three marches distant. The headman of a small Kuzzak tribe, in league with the Chawdor Chieftain, undertook to conduct him, but in the darkness of the second evening the envoy was suddenly assaulted, badly wounded, and beaten almost to death. His servants also were maltreated, and his property divided among his brutal assailants. His life, however, was saved by the interposition of the Kuzzak's brother, but for many days he was dragged from one encampment to another, until he was released through the marvellous fidelity of a messenger despatched by Major Todd from Herat, who had started from Khiva, without stopping to refresh himself after his forty days' journey, and, as if dropped from heaven, arrived at a moment when Major Abbott's life hung by a thread.



The envoy was then safely guided to Fort Novo Alexandrovskí, into which he was admitted after some comical precautions on the part of the commandant, and ultimately forwarded to Orenberg, whence the gallant, if unfortunate, General Pershki sent him on to St Petersburg. Though robbed, bruised, and crippled for life in his right hand, Major Abbott did not the less exert himself to accomplish the object of his humane and hazardous mission. In the following year his preliminary labours enabled his successor, Captain, afterwards Sir Richmond, Shakespear, to proceed to St Petersburg in charge of 400 Russian slaves, who were exchanged for an equal number of imprisoned Ouzbeks and Toorkamans.

## CHAPTER X.

## KHIVA.

**KHIVA : HISTORICAL NOTICE—NATURAL PRODUCTIONS—THE SAXAUL—POPULATION—THE CAPITAL CITY—THE KHAN AND HIS WIVES—EXECUTIONS—PERSIAN CAPTIVES—CARAVAN ROUTES—URGHUNJ, OLD AND NEW—HAZAR-ASP—KUNGRAD—CAPTAIN CONOLLY'S JOURNEY FROM ASTRABAD TO HERAT—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE TOORKOMANS—MERY.**

THE extensive and fertile oasis in the midst of the sandy deserts of Central Asia, known in these days as the Khanat of Khiva, was called by the Greeks Chorasmia, and by the Arabs Khwarezm. The Chorasmians were of the Aryan race, and their contingent to the army of Xerxes was equipped precisely in the Bactrian fashion. It is probable that Chorasmia formed a portion of the short-lived Greco-Bactrian monarchy, and it certainly passed under the domination of the White Huns, from whom it was subsequently wrested by the Toorks. In the legendary history of Persia, all the country enclosed between the Oxus and Jaxartes, between the Caspian Sea and China, is designated Tooran, from Toor the son of Feridoon, a prince of the Paishdadian dynasty, whose founder Kaiomurs, a grandson of Noah, selected Balkh as the seat of his government.

The most celebrated monarch of this line was Afrasiab, the son of Pushung, who conquered Persia and reigned over it for twelve years. Then arose the great Persian patriot and hero, Roostam, who encountered Afrasiab in battle and, dragging him out of his saddle, would have slain or captured him, had not the king's girdle broke at the critical moment. Falling to



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... 20 years. Alwaleem was succeeded by the

■ descendants of Chinghiz Khan, who gave place to a succession  
■ of petty Oozbeg princes, until the power of Timour Lung  
■ extended, at the opening of the fifteenth century, 'from the  
■ Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges  
■ to Damascus and the Archipelago.' From one of Timour's  
■ feeble successors it was torn in 1498 by Shah Bukht Sooltan,  
■ who, in his turn, was vanquished and slain at Merv twelve years  
■ later by Shah Ismail, the founder of the Souffavean dynasty  
■ and the implacable enemy of the Oozbegs. Very shortly after-  
■ wards, however, the Oozbegs of Khwarezm again asserted their  
■ independence of Persia, and maintained a separate misrule until  
■ they passed beneath the shadow of Nadir Shah. Their Khan,  
■ Sooltan Ilboorz, then suffered 'the death of a dog,' by having  
■ his throat cut, and a kinsman of the Khan of Bokhara was  
■ placed upon the throne he had dishonoured and forfeited.

Under the famous Beggie Jan, the Khan of Khiva was reduced to a state of vassalage to Bokhara, but since the death of that half-crazy monarch, in 1802, the mutual relations of the two States have been those of independent kingdoms divided by jealousy, while their common safety depended upon close union and concerted action. The Muscovite consequently sits in the seat of his ancient master, the Tatar, and the Cossack domineers where the Kuzzak was despised.

Khiva is bounded on the west by a desert which stretches for 800 miles in a north-easterly direction, from the south-east angle of the Caspian to the base of the Moughojar range, and for an equal distance from that sea in a south-easterly direction to Balkh. 'This vast tract,' Canon Rawlinson remarks, 'void of all animal life, without verdure or vegetation, depressed in parts (according to some accounts) below the level of the ocean—the desiccated bed, as Humboldt thinks, of a sea which once flowed between Europe and Asia, joining the Arctic Ocean with the Euxine—separates more effectually than a water



Black Hats, roam about the delta of the Amou, and employ much of their time in fishing. They are said to possess 150 boats between Kungrad and the Aral, varying in burden from 300 lbs. to 2000 lbs. They are an industrious and unwarlike tribe, and have nearly lost their wandering propensities. The Kirghiz, on the other hand, being great breeders of cattle, are always in movement, pitching their tents wherever grass is obtainable for their flocks and herds, and passing on from one grazing ground to another. Their chief haunts lie between the Amou and the Yany Su, though not strictly confined within those limits. The Toorkomans occupy the southern and western borders, and are the most important of all the wandering tribes. Towards the eastern coast of the Caspian, the Kuzzaks are chiefly found, and enjoy the unenviable distinction of producing 'perhaps the ugliest women in the world.'

The fauna of the Khivan Khanat has already been enumerated. No mention, however, was made of the nightingale, which, as we learn from M. Vambéry, trills his thick-warbled notes the summer long, while at Bokhara there are only storks, so that the jeering Khivan thus twits the less favoured Bokharist: 'Thy nightingale song,' he cries, 'is the bill-clapping of the stork.'

The city of Khiva is pleasantly situated in the midst of green fields, orchards, and lofty poplars. It encloses two water-courses, and is surrounded by a clay-built wall five miles in circumference and ten feet in height. Within this there is a second wall, between two and three miles in circuit, and twenty-two feet in height, with a width of twenty-two feet in the lower part. The space between these walls is laid out to some extent in gardens. On the inner wall were mounted twenty guns to protect the Ark or Royal Castle, which comprises not only the palace, but also the residences of the chief official ~~persons~~ and several *medressahs*, or Mussulmaun seminaries. The

streets are narrow and tortuous, but the bazaar boasts of a vaulted roof. The entrance into the Ark is by a narrow gate which opens into a courtyard filled with servants and soldiers of the body-guard. Two cannons were planted here by Nadir Shah, highly ornamented, which he probably brought from Delhi.

An inner gate leads into another and more spacious court, on one side of which stands a mean-looking building that serves for Government Offices, and where all the business of the state is conducted under the supervision of the Mehtur or Prime Minister. To the left of this is a guard-house occupied by soldiers, police, and executioners, functionaries whose office was no sinecure under Oozbeg rule, notwithstanding M. Vambéry's assertion that 'the Khivan Oozbeg, although but rough-hewn, is the finest character of Central Asia.'

Between these two buildings a small gate closes the passage to the royal residence, a poor mud hut, without windows. The furniture consists of a few costly carpets, some sofas and round cushions, and several chests. It is divided into the Harem, or suite of women's apartments, and the Hall of Audience.

The Khan, at the time of M. Vambéry's visit, was waited upon by fifteen head servants. He wore a sheep-skin cap, clumsy boots stuffed with yards of linen rag, and a thickly wadded coat of silk or chintz, the ordinary costume of the Oozbegs. He would rise before the dawn and attend the morning prayer for half-an-hour. He then partook of tea, seasoned with mutton fat and salt. At times learned mollahs were invited to discuss knotty theological problems, an exercitation that usually lulled the Khan to sleep for a couple of hours or more. To this succeeded the business of the state, which was followed by a heavy breakfast, all who were present standing the while in a respectful attitude. Chess filled up the interval till the mid-day prayer, an affair that occupied an hour.

Then came the Public Audience. Seated on a terrace over the outer court, the Khan was compelled to listen with as much patience as he could command to every one, no matter how humble, who chose to address him, and not unfrequently he had to endure home-truths of a very personal and unpleasant character. The afternoon prayer cut short this disagreeable duty, after which the Khan went forth for a ride outside the walls, until sunset. Evening prayer was offered in full assembly.

The labours of the day were then crowned with a luxurious supper, washed down by spirituous drinks, and enlivened by the performances of jugglers, singers, and musicians, the latter making use of a tambourine and an instrument somewhat resembling a violin, but with a longer neck, and with three strings, one of wire and two of silk : it was played with a bow. The songs were mostly of an erotic character. Two hours after sunset the Khan retired into the harem, where he had only two wives, but both of the Blood Royal, whose constant occupation was the making of the articles of apparel worn by their lord.

At a stated hour the ladies were taken out for a drive in a large gaudy carriage, shut in with red shawls and carpets, and preceded and followed by two horsemen bearing white staves. As the carriage passed along every one rose and made a low bow. In winter time the Khan lived in a light tent pitched outside the walls, with a fire burning in the middle ; but in the summer season he frequently repaired to Rafenek or Tashhauz, castles built in the Persian style, and possessing some window-panes and even looking-glasses, with fine gardens around.

The executioners had, indeed, quite enough to do. M. Vambéry describes a horrible spectacle witnessed by himself. While he was staying in Khiva, disguised as a dervish, three hundred prisoners of the Chawdor tribe of Toorkomans were brought into the town, and for forty-eight hours kept without food. They were chained together in groups of ten or a dozen,

with iron collars round their necks, and those under forty years of age were sold as slaves, or bestowed as useful presents upon nobles whom the Khan delighted to honour. The leaders were conducted to the gallows or the block, but eight old men, who were too feeble to be utilized in any way, were laid on their backs upon the ground. 'They were then bound hand and foot, and the executioner gouged out their eyes in turn, kneeling to do so on the breast of each poor wretch; and after every operation he wiped his knife, dripping with blood, upon the white beard of the hoary unfortunate. . . . As each fearful act was completed, the victim, liberated from his bonds, groping around with his hands, sought to gain his feet. Some fell against each other, head against head; others sank powerless to the earth again, uttering low groans, the memory of which will make me shudder as long as I live.'

Their offence, it must be admitted, had been sufficiently heinous. They had surprised and plundered a caravan of Khivan traders, whom they then left in the desert without food or clothing, so that fifty-two out of sixty perished of cold and hunger. Executions, however, were of daily occurrence, and very frequently for offences against the law or traditions of the Koran. Another common sight was that of a body of horsemen riding into the great square, and throwing down before the officer appointed for that purpose the heads of robbers, or rebels, which they carried at their saddle bows. In truth, this was an old and general practice in the East, and has prevailed among most barbarous peoples. Pietro delle Valle relates how on the 21st March, 1618, being the *Nou Roz*, or Persian New-Year's Day, 'among the presents brought to the palace (of Shah Abbas at Ferhabad) was one on the part of the Khan of Chorasán, who, among many other things, sent nearly three hundred heads of Uzbek Tartars, besides a nobleman of distinction of that nation, and eight or ten of his servants alive, who surren-



and can be pursued only by very numerous, or well-armed, caravans. At one point a table-land rises suddenly out of the sandy desert, and is some 300 feet above the lower level. Here antelopes and wild asses are seen grazing in large herds, and M. Vambéry conjectures that this plateau, which he calls Kaf-lankir, or Tiger-field, may formerly have been an island begirt by the Oxus. At another point the track skirts the Shor Gol, a rectangular lake of salt water, about twelve miles in circumference.

Until quite a recent period the commercial capital of the Khanat was Köhne or Kunya Urghunj, called, also, Jorjaniah. It stood on both banks of the Amou, with a bridge connecting the two divisions. The place was utterly destroyed by Chinghiz's son Okkadai, in 1221, but subsequently recovered much of its importance, until the river changed its course and left the town, as it were, stranded in the interior. According to Pascal of Vittoria, the tomb of Job was to be seen here in 1338, but Colonel Yule sceptically remarks that, if tombs are to be taken as evidence, 'the man of Uz' was buried in Oudh.

New or Yani Urghunj is considerably higher up the river, from which it is about eight miles distant. It is surrounded by a wall, and stands in the midst of productive gardens, with a population estimated at 3000 souls. Between thirty and forty miles to the south-east of Khiva is the fortified town of Hazarasp, boasting of a manufactory of gunpowder. It is supposed to contain 4000 inhabitants.

Kungrad, on the Taldyk branch of the Amou, has fallen from its once high estate. Though nominally fortified, it is utterly defenceless, and its mud hovels are in such a ruinous condition that its mixed population of Oozbegs, Sarts, Karakalpaks, and Kirghize, prefer to dwell in tents. There are, indeed, a few public buildings that seem to bear witness to better times in the past, but Admiral Boutakof describes the streets as nar-



ridges and hillocks of sand, with the thermometer in the tent at 97° during the heat of the day, and not a breath of wind stirring. During the day the caravan proceeded up the old bed of the Oxus, 2000 paces wide, and pushed on all night through drenching rain till they reached a spring of delicious water on a plateau covered with fine grass. The Balkan range was about thirty miles to the north, abounding in springs and 'with verdure clad' running from E.N.E. to W.S.W.

May-day was spent in traversing 'a barren white plain, on which there was not a blade of herbage—not a weed. In parts it was strongly impregnated with salt, and portions of soil on which the mineral lay in a thin crust, when refracted in the extreme distance, had the appearance of white buildings. The hard earth sounded under the horses' feet, but some tracks of deep camel footmarks that crossed the plain, showed that, either in the season, it had been watered. These, and the bones of a camel which lay bleaching in the sun, were the only signs we had of any animal having passed over so waste a place. The country was apparently a forest, but when we mounted every evening we saw only large bushes growing in deep sand, with here and there a tall tree; so much did the twilight deceive us, as when, as we had become to its illusion. A cuckoo was singing on the leafy branch of a small tree; we saw some brown mottled and pied partridges, the body green, head and wings of a rich brownish red, and a flight of birds like the European *cuspidatus*,—startling, and desolate as the scene was, there was a beauty about it in the stillness of the broad twilight. Occasionally, during our journey from the Goorgaun, we had started a hare from her form; many antelopes bounded across the plain, and the desert rat, an animal rather slighter than the common rat, with a tuft in the tip of its tail, and which springs with four feet like a kangaroo, was everywhere common.'

Captain Conolly himself went no further than a large pool of water called Cheen Mohammed, about 210 miles from Astrabad. He was here forced to retrace his steps, and more than once was in danger of his life. However, he at length reached Astrabad in safety, and on the 12th June started afresh for Meshed, travelling along the foot of the Elburz range, by Shahrood, Abbasabad, Subzawar, and Nishapoor, to Meshed, whence he pursued his route to Herat, 'the gate of India,' and traversing the kingdom of Kabul, stood once more on British soil. The conclusion he arrived at from what he had seen and heard during his long and eventful journey was to the effect that if ever the Russians became masters of Khiva, they would move on by the Amou to Balkh, and create a revolution in the trade of Central Asia. Should they ever attempt the perilous enterprise of invading India, they will, as it seemed to Captain Conolly, make Khiva their base of operations, whence they will ascend the Amou to Balkh, cross the intervening mountains by the Bamian Pass, and push on to the Indus by Kabul and Peshawur—not then a British military station. There is also another and easier route through Korassan.

The line of march from Khiva to the Indian frontiers did not appear to this observant officer as likely to be impeded by any very extraordinary difficulties, the Amou being navigable for eight months of the year. At the same time the passage of the Hindoo Koosh would be attended with considerable labour, 'for provisions must be carried all the way (from Balkh to Kabul), and there would be difficulty in transporting artillery and stores over these stupendous mountains. However, the passes are practicable during six months of the year.' From Kabul a mountainous but very passable road, well supplied with water, leads to Attock, by way of Jellalabad and Peshawur, but it is Kandahar that, in Captain Conolly's opinion, will prove the pivot upon which the real operations of war will turn.

that could not be so, however, in the event of Afghanistan being permanently reduced to the condition of a Russian or a British dependency.

During his brief experience of the desert, Captain Conolly visited himself no the utmost of the opportunities he enjoyed of studying the habits and customs of the Toorkomans. His description of a modern tent is equally applicable to those which furnished William de Barybrooke and other travelled friars of the middle ages. Five pieces of framework, made of light sticks thrust pointed in each other so that they may be drawn out or put together at pleasure after the manner of lazy tongs, are gathered in at the top in a circle of twelve feet diameter, space being left at the bottom of a wooden door. To the top of this frame are tied the ends of many long pliant sticks, which bend up in the shape of a dome and are fixed in a circular hoop of wood which forms the top and the chimney of the tent. Over this skeleton work are laid large cloths of thick black felt; they are covered by several smaller ones laid round the dome and kept close by a line of lead which goes round the centre of the whole. As a general remark to be expected of these tents: they are roomy and comfortable, and well adapted for war, and one is no more than a hundred feet long.

The common diseases of the desert, however, in an *oubeh*, or camp, probably surpassed the traveller. Ophthalmia was almost universal, which accompanied diseases, leprosy, elephantiasis, rheumatism, and many, were all represented in this small tented village.

It is a wild scene, a Toorkoman camp. All its tenants are asleep at daybreak, and the women, after a short busy period, retire to work within their tents. Towards the evening the men get together, and sit in circles, discoursing; the mistress of a tent is seen seated outside, knitting; near her is an old negro woman, dry and withered as the deserts of Libya, who is

churning in a skin hung upon three sticks, or dandling the last born; and the young fry, dirty and naked, except perhaps a small jacket or skull cap, fantastically covered with coins, bits of metal, or beads and charms, run about in glee, like so many imps, screaming and flinging dust on each other, the great game of these unsophisticated children of nature. As the day declines, the camels are driven in, and folded within the camp; soon after the sun has set a few watchers are set; here and there perhaps in a tent remain for a short time the light of a candle and the sound of the millstones, but soon the whole camp is in still repose.'

The Toorkomans roam over the wilderness stretching from the south-east of the Caspian Sea to the vicinity of Balkh, and from the foot of the Elburz mountains to the banks of the Amou. They speak of themselves as the Nine Peoples, or Tribes, resembling each other in all essential points. The Chawdors, numbering 12,000 tents, occupy the Ust Urt plateau between the Caspian and the Aral. The 50,000 tents of the Ersari, tributaries of Bokhara, are pitched along the left bank of the Amou. Near Andkui are met the Alielies, a small tribe possessing only 3000 tents, while the yet smaller division, named Kara, are content with half that number. It is well that these are so few, for they infest the region between Andkui and Merv, and are badly pre-eminent in fierceness and brutality. Near the last-named town the historic Salores, brave and far-descended, fill some 8000 tents, and next to them on the Murghab come the equally warlike families of the Sarukhs, with their 10,000 tents.

From Merv well nigh to Khiva the Tekkeh Toorkomans wander over the Kara-Koum or Black Sands, the most powerful of all the tribes and the scourge of Khorassan. Their numbers are estimated by M. Vambéry at 60,000 tents, but General Ferrier, a more trustworthy guide in this particular matter, is

Nominally, they are subject to the Khan of Khiva, but plunder Khivan and Persian with perfect impunity. About their inroads Shah Abbas established on the Persian front a colony of Koords, but he thereby only increased the evil he had hoped to mitigate. For these Koords, though Shiabab, speedily made common cause with the Persian enemies, and readily connived at their invasion of the Persian territory and seizure of their co-religionists. In 1624, they were severely chastised by Abbas, and were reduced to a state of order.

the Toorkomans give life and movement to the desert and Gurgan. These are the Toorkomans and are comparatively civilized and acknowledging themselves as such. Near the mouth of those two rivers and along the coast of the Caspian, the fierce and warlike Toorkomans and in these latter days are becoming more and more civilized. The Khan of Khiva, who is now a very powerful ruler, has 40,000 tents, which is a very large number. The entire Toorkoman population is about three-quarters of a million.

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people are pillaged or not, or that eight or ten of his principal nobles eat up the revenues of the country.' This was written prior to the Shah's romantic visit to Europe.

If caring little for Fraternity, the Toorkomans practise Liberty and Equality in the most uncompromising manner. Their Aksakuls—literally Grey Beards—exercise no more than a moral influence, each in his own *aoul*, or group of families. When a Chief meditates a foray—called by them a *chappow*, or *chap-aoul*—he plants his lance, surmounted by his colours, in front of his tent, and a crier goes about through the encampment inviting all good Moslemin to join in a raid against the Persian infidels. The volunteers plant their spears beside that of the Chief. When a sufficient number have presented themselves, the departure is appointed for that day month, in order to give time to get the horses into condition. Each animal is thenceforth allowed 6 lbs. of hay and 3 lbs. of barley *per diem*, which reduces his flesh and improves his pace. For half-an-hour every day he is ridden at full speed, after which some time elapses before he is fed—very little water being given to him during the whole period of his training. Each Toorkoman takes the field with two animals, one his charger, the other a *yaboo* or packhorse. On setting out, it is the latter which has to bear his master, while the nobler beast follows like a dog.

The first day's march is usually a very short one, but the length increases daily. On the fourth day the charger is supplied with a mixture composed of 4½ lbs. barley flour, 2 lbs. maize flour, and 2 lbs. raw sheep's-tail fat, well mixed and kneaded together. This compound is given in balls, and is much relished, while its nutritive qualities are shown in this, that after four days of such diet a horse is capable of enduring almost any amount of fatigue. Hay and straw are absolutely forbidden. The saddle is now transferred to the charger. A secure retreat

is next sought out, in which the band rests, and secretes itself, while scouts are sent out to look for a *kafila*. Sometimes the robber spy will join an unsuspecting party of travellers, and obtain from their own lips all the information he requires. Persian villagers too are often in league with the marauders and furnish them with the desired intelligence, in the hope of themselves being exempted from bonds and spoliation. Small detachments, besides, scour the fields and carry off the trembling peasants.

When an attack is resolved upon, half-a-dozen of the band remain with the *yaboos*, while the others fall like a whirlwind upon village or caravan, and gallop off with everything upon which they can lay their hands. Not unfrequently they will fire the houses, and never draw bit until many a mile separates them from the scene of their depredations. Of the prisoners some are taken up on the saddle, others are placed on the captured horses, and others again are fastened by a long cord to the saddle-bow of their captors, and pricked by lances if they lag behind. When incapable of further exertion, they are killed upon the spot, or left to perish miserably in the desert. Two-thirds of the prisoners often die by the way.

Now and again it happens that the villagers, apprized of the approach of their relentless enemies, suddenly attack them while passing through a defile, and give no quarter. At times the Toorkomans penetrate to a considerable distance within the Persian frontiers, gliding by night between villages, and carefully avoiding a conflict. 'The Turcomans,' according to General Ferrier, 'are the best mounted robbers in the world, but will never make good soldiers.' Should they chance to return to their tents empty-handed, they are jeered at by the women, who offer them petticoats, and otherwise insult their misfortune. The plunder is sold to the Oozbegs; a boy of ten years of age being valued at forty tomauns, or about £20;

while a man of thirty is worth only twenty-five, and of forty only twenty tomauns.

Slightly different is the account given by Captain Conolly. 'The Toorkomans,' he says, 'train their horses for a long march, and when they are going beyond the plain country, they shoe them, which they do not at other times. Their longest expeditions are undertaken in spring and autumn. With a bag of flour and some oil cakes, a few *kooroot* balls, and a waterskin for their own use, and a small bag of barley, or *joucarree*, for their horses, they set out on a distant foray. Their pace is alternately a *yoortmah*, or gentle jog trot, and a long walk; every hour or two they halt, and let their horses graze if there be herbage—theirself perhaps snatching a few moments' sleep, and occasionally they give them a handful of corn. Marching on thus unceasingly to the point they have in view, they get over much ground in a few days, and their horses', and indeed their own, steady endurance of fatigue is wonderful.' Sometimes a piece of fat is rolled round the bit, to keep the mouth moist.

General Ferrier enters at some length upon the Toorkoman horses and their management. They are treated, he tells us, more tenderly than wife or child, and are loved passionately, it being deemed a sin to maltreat one. A Toorkoman will never voluntarily fight from behind a wall or other barrier. He is only himself when in the saddle. The grass of the steppe is pronounced very sweet and nutritious, but is found only in spring. 'It produces in their horses a higher temperature and better condition of the blood, as well as a peculiar elasticity, and strength of muscle quite wonderful.' No important expeditions, according to General Ferrier, are undertaken before the end of July. After that, horses are fed on dry food, usually about 7 lbs. of barley daily, mixed with dry chopped straw, lucerne, sainfoin, or clover hay.



The best horses come of an Arab stock, and, though not handsome, are worthy of their descent. Timur it seems distributed 4200 Arab mares among the different tribes, while Nadir Shah bestowed 800 upon the Tiflis or Tekkehs. Their heads may be too long, their chests too narrow, and their legs too woody, to please the eye of a European judge, but their pace is excellent, and their power of hunger, cold, and fatigue unsurpassed. Instances are known of Toorkoman horses covering 600 miles in six, and even in five days. General Ferrier personally vouches for 420 miles being accomplished in twelve days, of which three were passed in motion. This animal was ridden from Teheran to Tabriz, from Tabriz to Teheran, and thence back again to the original starting-point.

A common description of horse can be had for about fourteen guineas, but a good horse of inferior breed will fetch from £40 to £48, while a second-rate animal of the best stock costs not less than £120 to £160. The best of all are not procurable for

money, and can be torn from their owners only by superior force. Foals are gradually broken in to work when about two-and-a-half years old. Toorkoman horses are never placed in a stable, but always picketed in the open air, covered with warm felt rugs. In towns they are put into stables during the winter, but as soon as a little warmth returns, they are turned out into a courtyard or field, tied with head and heel ropes, and well exercised every day, except when out at grass.

Water is given to them at any time, even when in a lather of perspiration, but in that case they are galloped up and down for a while, to prevent the skin under the saddle from puffing up like a bladder. To a certain extent the Toorkomans are good horse-doctors. For incipient glanders they administer daily 6 lbs. minfoin hay, 6 lbs. camel's milk, with 1 lb. powdered sulphur—the cure being usually wrought in about a fortnight. If a young colt refuses to feed, an incision is made, and a piece

of cartilage removed from the upper part of the nostril. The age of twenty to twenty-five years is not uncommon.

Every Toorkoman clan has its own range, beyond the limits of which it cannot wander without trespassing on the grounds claimed by some other clan. The different tribes are constantly at variance with one another, their national arms being a spear ten or twelve feet long and a sword, though most of them now possess a clumsy matchlock. They are inveterate thieves and robbers, and do not scruple to stop and plunder a guest when he has left the tent in which he has been hospitably entertained. Nor are they so facetiously polite as the Arabs, whose equivalent for 'Stand and deliver!' is, according to Captain Conolly, 'Cousin, undress thyself, thy aunt is without a garment.' The forms of hospitality, however, are as closely observed by the Toorkomans as by the wandering tribes of Syria. 'When a stranger comes to an *oubeh* (group or encampment), he is invited into the first tent, the master of which welcomes him by taking his hands within his own, and, holding the bridle of his horse, orders his wife to prepare refreshment for their guest.'

The women, indeed, do all the work of the household. They milk the camels, fetch water, make buttermilk, and collect fuel in the morning; while in the afternoon they milk the sheep and goats, make curds, prepare milk for butter and *kooroot*, and provide the evening meal. When not thus engaged, they are employed in sewing, knitting, carding wool, weaving carpets, and making felt cloths and horse clothing. They are often assisted, however, by slaves, 'who, for the most part, live very much like dogs.' When men are conversing together in a tent, it is customary for the women to pull up a small piece of cloth from their bosom and cover their mouth. Their ordinary costume consists of a long chintz chemise, open in front of the chest, which reaches to the feet and covers their loose drawers. The hair is worn in two long plaited tails, horribly greasy and

milk, but the more opulent will, now and again, intoxicate themselves with fermented mare's milk.

In every tent may be seen one or two cast-iron pots of Russian manufacture, which are placed on tripods over the fire for the family meal. Their luxuries are spices, coarse sugar, tobacco, and gay articles of dress, chiefly from Persia, for which they exchange the produce of their flocks, and felts and carpets made by their women. The Toorkoman garb resembles that of the Oozbegs, and consists of a shirt, loose trousers, a vest, a camel's-hair cloak belted round the waist, and a large sheep-skin cap. In their tents they go barefooted, or with sandals fastened by a string round the big toe; but on horseback they sport Hessian boots, with pointed iron-tipt heels. Those who cannot afford boots, roll folds of cloth round their legs. Against these dashing, reckless barbarians, the supple, timid Persians are utterly helpless. 'A Toorkoman is a dog,' say they, 'and will only be kept quiet, like a dog, with a bit of bread: give it, then, is the doctrine of the traveller, and pass on unmolested.'

In the south-eastern extremity of the Khanat of Khiva is situated the oft-pillaged town of Merv, Maro, or Merou, which has belonged alternately to Persia, Khiva, and Bokhara. Strictly speaking, however, it now belongs to the Saryk or Sharukhs Toorkomans, and may therefore be properly noticed in this place. According to tradition, Merv was originally founded by Alexander the Great; but, falling into decay, was rebuilt by Antiochus Soter, who called it after himself Antiocheia Margiana. Both at that time and for many centuries afterwards, the country around was remarkable for its fertility, being watered by the Murghab, the Margus of Strabo and the Epardus of Arrian. At a later period, the town was honoured with the title of Merv, Shah-i-Jehan, the King of the World, and was the burial-place of Alp Arslan, the sentimental

and slightly absurd epitaph on whose tomb has already been given.

As long as it remained under the Persians the district was exceedingly flourishing. Towards the close of the last century, however, Shah Mourad of Bokhara destroyed the dams of the canals of irrigation, demolished the town, and carried off the inhabitants, estimated at 25,000 souls, to his own capital, where they were settled in a separate quarter, and are said to have taught their conquerors the manufacture of silk. On the death of Mourad the Bokharese garrison was withdrawn, and the place abandoned to the Toorkomans.

Mahommed Raheem, Khan of Khiva, subsequently took possession of Merv, and Oollah Kouli Khan also marched an army thither in fifteen days, sinking a well at every stage, but nevertheless lost 2000 camels. Though only 200 miles from both Khiva and Bokhara, neither State now appears to consider that it is worth the trouble and expense of a garrison. The Russians may possibly after a while think otherwise of a post which commands the roads to Herat and Meshed, and there is little doubt that the ancient canals might to a great extent be repaired. Sir Alexander Burnes speaks of ruins extending over a circle of thirty to forty miles in circumference, but at the time of his visit in 1832 the place was occupied by a few Oozbeg families surrounded by the tents of the Toorkomans.

In the latter part of the eighth century Merv obtained an unenviable reputation in the Moslem world as the head-quarters of a pestilent heresy. Heretical notions were, indeed, very prevalent just then. A spirit of philosophical inquiry had got abroad, and there were individuals who denied that the world had ever had a beginning, or would ever have an end. Men and beasts, they said, sprang up like the plants, and would have no existence beyond the present life. During this unwholesome state of excitement one Hasheem Ben Hakeem

oil, and tea made from boiled 'bumps' or cakes of tea-leaves, softened with milk or butter, but more generally with oil from the fat tails of the Dombek sheep: only the rich indulge in sugar. The ordinary dish for dinner is thick mutton broth, or pilloo, with masses of fat conspicuous, and much relished. Horse-flesh is a delicacy reserved for the wealthy.

The favourite beverage is *kumec*, a white-baking, sub-acid, intoxicating liquor obtained from mare's milk. It is a home-made preparation, chiefly in use during the last two months of summer, when drunkenness is consequently very prevalent. *Bash*, another description of fermented liquor distilled from different kinds of grain, is much taken by the poorer classes, being considerably cheaper than *kumec*. It is of a sour taste, and in appearance somewhat resembles thin water-gruel. As a rule, however, the Ouzbeks may be considered a sober and frugal race.

A few of them dwell in houses, but the vast majority cling to the tents of their forefathers. The *kibitka* is a circular tent, formed of a lattice-work of thin laths, covered with black or white felt and hung inside with carpets and shawls. The roof is made with four stout laths bent into a dome-shape, and held together by a wooden hoop over the middle of the tent. This simple construction combines the advantages of warmth and lightness, and is valued by the Torkomans *kara-oom*, or Black Tents. An encampment of twenty to fifty *kibitkas* is known as a *tribe*.

The Ouzbeks according to M. Khanikov are addicted to robbery and murder, being more straightforward in their manners than the Turks, but they like to have on their side the Russian and Chinese superiority of numbers. As regards the religion of this nation they are extremely fanatical for Islam. In the large towns few of them are able to read or

Baron Meyendorf's description of the Oozbeg costume as seen by himself in Bokhara differs in a few respects from Elphinstone's account, which probably referred more particularly to the section of that tribe dwelling to the south of the Amou. The ordinary dress of the Bokhariot, says the Russian Baron, is composed of two long robes of blue and white striped cotton, from fifteen to twenty yards in length. Many Oozbegs, however, wear a pointed cap of red cloth, trimmed with marten. The use of wide white trousers over short, tight drawers is said to be universal. Those who can afford it, indulge in robes of mingled silk and woollen texture, while the great officers of State disport themselves in rich Kashmeer shawls and gorgeous brocades. In the streets the women shroud their figures in long mantillas, or dominos, with the sleeves fastened behind, and wear a black veil to conceal their features. They are given to the use of cosmetics, and some of them are barbarous enough to suspend a ring from the nose. Their nails are tinged with henna, their eyebrows darkened and united with collyrium, and their eyelids touched with soorma from Kabul.

The Tajeeks are probably descended from the ancient Sogdians. They are certainly of the Aryan stock, and strongly resemble Europeans, but they speak the Persian language. They appear to be a tall, handsome race of men, with a fair skin, and black hair and eyes. Their moral character is that of most conquered peoples. They are said to be treacherous, false, insolent, and cowardly. 'Murder is unknown to them,' writes M. Khanikof, 'not because of its heinous nature, but because they have not sufficient courage to commit it.' They have the bad taste, too, it seems, to prefer Bokhara to St Petersburg, though Sir Alexander Burnes declares that the inhabitants of Central Asia regard the Russian capital as 'a very close approximation in wine and women to the paradise of


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1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

slaves, while the former embraces those engaged in agricultural labour.

In like manner, the Baron speaks of five to six hundred Russian slaves, but Dr Wolff protests that there were not more than twenty in his time, though there were many deserters. According to the Russian traveller, the price of a robust fellow-countryman ranged from £25 to £32, a skilful artisan, however, being worth double that sum, and a young woman, if good-looking, fetching as much as £100. He also further states that he saw a Russian slave who had had his ears cut off, his hands pierced with a nail, the skin stript from his back, and boiling oil poured over his arms, to make him confess in what direction his comrade had fled. They do not seem to have been generally ill-treated, being greatly valued as field-labourers and gardeners, but they complained, not unreasonably, that even after their ransom was paid, they were not permitted to leave the country. The indignant Baron accordingly suggests reprisals, and recommends that on a given day all the Bokhariots and Khivans in Russia should be arrested, and kept as hostages until every Russian captive was restored to his native land. The persistent progress of enlightenment in Russia, he complacently remarks, summons that vast empire to the realization of the generous idea of civilizing Central Asia. To Russia it belongs to impart a salutary impulse to the Khanats, and to diffuse over those countries the blessings of European civilization.

Undoubtedly it must have been a painful and depressing spectacle that met his eyes as he entered the capital in the suite of M. de Negri. '*Nous éprouvâmes,*' he writes, '*un sentiment bien pénible en apercevant au milieu de cette population asiatique des soldats russes réduits à la triste condition d'esclaves. La plupart étaient sexagénaires et infirmes; à la vue de leurs compatriotes, ils ne purent retenir leurs larmes; ils bégayaient*





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1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

2. Once the problem is identified, the next step is to define the objectives and goals of the project. This helps to clarify what needs to be achieved and provides a clear direction for the team.

3. The third step is to develop a plan or strategy to address the problem. This involves breaking down the problem into smaller, manageable tasks and determining the resources needed to complete each task.

4. The fourth step is to implement the plan. This involves putting the strategy into action and monitoring progress regularly to ensure that the project is on track.

5. Finally, the fifth step is to evaluate the results of the project. This involves assessing the outcomes against the objectives and goals and identifying any areas for improvement or further action.

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than in any of those cities, and the cold is infinitely more intense than in London, which is situated so much farther to the north. The temperature of autumn is, on the other hand, considerably higher in Bokhara than in Europe, but lower than in the United States or at Peking. The climate, indeed, is really hot from the middle of March to the end of November, at which season frost sets in, followed by snow to the depth of twelve to eighteen inches—ice also forming from one to four inches in thickness. But little rain ever falls, though thunderstorms are of frequent occurrence, as likewise are earthquakes. The wind blows for the greater part of the year from the north-east, and, except near the capital, the air is dry and salubrious.

The cultivated portion of the Khanat is estimated by Baron Meyendorf at 1200 square leagues, and by M. Khanikof at 600 square miles. The land is tilled for the most part by slaves, but agriculture generally is much impeded by want of water, as the canals require constant cleaning out and deepening. Rice is little grown, and that little of inferior quality. Fruits are abundant, but of watery flavour, and without aroma. Apricots, peaches, quinces, pears, apples, plums, cherries, pomegranates, almonds, and the *kishmish*, or stoneless grape, all come to maturity,

Prunes of Bokhara, and sweet nuts  
From the far groves of Samarkand.

In the early morning, after the dew has evaporated, a cloth is spread under a plant called the *tikan*, which, being shaken, lets fall a white powder, or manna, much used in the preparation of sweetmeats.

There are no forests in the kingdom, but large quantities of wood are drifted down the Zarafshan from the mountainous region to the east of Samarkand. Wheat and barley are the chief cereals, though the poorer classes affect jowarree as more prolific. Millet is grown in small quantities, but orchards and gardens are found more profitable than agriculture. Ploughing is reserved

Persian is the language of the court and the Turanians; the general population adheres to Tocharian, the language of their fathers. There are said to be some 30,000 students in the Khan, for the most part going through a five years' course of religious instruction, and the Khan's library, which the Khan has thought large, at that time contained two hundred volumes.

The interior of the mud-built houses is as uninviting as the exterior. Furniture there is none, except a few carpets, rugs, and cushions. When H. de Yagor was first presented to the Khan, that potentate was seated on a cushion covered with red cloth richly embroidered with gold, arranged at one end of a room covered with more Persian carpets, the walls plastered, and the ceiling of painted beams.

In Central Asia it is not the custom to sit cross-legged as in Turkey, but rather to kneel, the hands pressing upon the back—a posture almost impossible for a European adult. Visitors are at once served with tea, fruits, and sugar, and are pressed to take some away with them—should they not do so, it is sent after them to their residence. When friends meet, they bow slightly and, placing their right hand upon their heart, exclaim 'Khosh.' After the morning prayer they breakfast upon bread boiled with milk and salt, and at about five in the afternoon dine off a pillau, made of rice, carrots, turnips, and mutton, finishing with tea, prepared as in Europe. Coffee is unknown, as also are spoons and forks.

As proprietor of the land, the Khan derives a considerable portion of his revenues from that source, which then yielded about £400,000 per annum. Of this one-half is absorbed in the maintenance of garrisons in the fortified towns. The priests and the public schools are also a heavy drain upon the treasury. The militia are not paid in money, but hold their lands on the condition of rendering military service when called upon. The Khan's Civil List was supposed not to exceed £40,000, but it is

impossible to fix any amount for his private expenditure.

The army, prior to the dismemberment of the kingdom, consisted of about 20,000 horse, 5000 foot, and 40 guns, many of which were not mounted, or were honey-combed, or otherwise worthless. The militia may have numbered 50,000 undisciplined horsemen, good rather for predatory purposes than for war as understood by civilized nations. Besides these, there were the Toorkoman levies, on whom no particular reliance could be placed, for, though not deficient in a certain dashing kind of valour, they were not amenable to any sort of discipline, and 'fought for their own hand.' In fine, Baron Meyendorf was probably not far wrong when he said that 'the characteristic features of the semi-barbarous Government of Bokhara are superstition, a certain warlike spirit, and covetousness, springing from the influence exercised by that country over the petty khanats that surround it.'

In the January (1873) number of 'Ocean Highways,' a summary is given of a paper by Mr Grebinkin, founded upon information obtained during a visit to Karshee, from which the following extract is taken:—

'The mountains within the Shahr-i-Subz Valley strike off from the massive elevation twenty miles west of the Iskander-Kul. The northern ranges, uniting with those of Kohistan of the upper Zarafshan Valley, enter the limits of the Shahr-i-Subz Valley from the great mountain knot called Sultan-Hazret Daút, and spreading out, form gorges and defiles, through which issue the right-hand sources of the Kashka-daria. There is no regular general name for these mountains; the natives of the Shahr-i-Subz Valley call them Samarcand-tau, and the people of Samarcand give them the general appellation of the Shahr-i-Subz mountains. These are not snowy mountains within the limits of the valley; they gradually fall in height towards the west, finally losing their wild character from the Djam defile; here they are rounded off, and are covered with a crust of earth, and beyond the Karshi-Djam road they dwindle into a closely connected system of undulations. There are several passes over these mountains, which are all practicable for field artillery; that of Djam being particularly easy. The following are the names of some portions of these mountains of the north:—Takta-karacha, Guré-mar, Bitéu, Ata-kinty, Ayakh-chi, Kopkan-agatch.

'The mountains skirting the southern side of the Shahr-i-Subz Valley are

does not exceed 1300 feet on the confines of the Gobi. The Tian Shan range, which forms the natural boundary on the north, is known to the people of the country as the Artush or Kokshal range. Though a lofty chain, these mountains present few peaks above 18,000 feet in height, and the passes are probably a little under 16,000 feet. On the southern slopes no trees are to be found, but the northern side descending to the Naryn valley is covered with forests.

The Pameer steppe, which constitutes the western frontier, is a lofty table-land 16,000 feet in height, extending from the Hindoo Koosh to the Tian Shan, to the west of the Terek Pass. This plateau rises on its eastern edge into a range called the Kizil Yart, which descends into Toorkestan by a succession of steep, rugged slopes. It was formerly supposed that the Karakoram and Kuen Lun mountains were parts of one continuous chain, but Lieutenant Hayward ascertained that a distinct watershed and the Yarkund and Karakash rivers intervene.

**The name Karakoram, generally given to an extensive and towering range of mountains, is locally applied only to the pass, while the mountains themselves are called the Muztagh, or Glacier Mountains.**

According to Dr Thompson, the elevation of the Karakoram Pass is not less than 18,660 feet, while the Chang Lang Pass in the same mountains is said to be 18,839 feet above the sea. The chain may be taken to commence about 74° east, whence it runs in a south-easterly direction nearly parallel with the Kuen Lun. The crest averages about 20,000 feet, but several peaks attain to 25,000, while one near the Muztagh Pass rises to the enormous altitude of 28,278 feet.

On the north side the snow line is placed at about 18,600 feet, and on the south a few hundred feet lower. The passes are all impracticable till the end of May, by which time the trees in sheltered valleys are in full leaf and blossom. The

heaviest fall of snow usually takes place in March. Between the Karakoram and Kuen Lun ranges the highest line of vegetation is fixed at 17,000 feet, by the 'Boorsee,' a plant resembling lavender, above which no vegetable life is to be met with.

The Kuen Lun mountains, so called either from their blue colour, or from the quantity of wild leeks with which they are overgrown, until the air is heavy with the offensive smell, lie between 77° and 81° E., and in the 37th parallel of north latitude. The crest averages quite 20,000 feet, broken by peaks rising from two to three thousand feet still higher. Unlike the broad mass of the Karakoram mountains, the Kuen Lun range is a tall narrow wall, of which comparatively little is yet known.

About six miles to the north-east of Khotan commences the Takla Makân, or Desert of Gobi. 'The edge of this desert,' Mr Johnson observes, 'has the appearance of a low range of broken hills, and consists of hillocks of moving sand, varying in height from 200 to 400 feet.' Impelled by the north-easterly gales the sand surges onward in gigantic billows, and is fabled to have overwhelmed 360 towns and villages in twenty-four hours. That places of considerable importance have at times been buried seems to be incontestable, and Mr Johnson mentions a quantity of Chinese tea bricks being found in a town that had been again uncovered by the wind after the lapse of several years. Mr Shaw also quotes a legend to the effect that this desert was once peopled with infidels, to whom Julla-ooddeen preached the religion of Mohammed. The idolaters consented to embrace Islam if he would turn their dwellings into gold. In answer to the saint's prayers that miracle was performed, whereupon they laughed him to scorn, and would have nothing to do with him or his new creed. In sorrow and anger he turned his back upon them, and huge waves of sand came

and covered the land and all that was upon it. At present the chief denizens of the waste are reported to be herds of wild camels, and of antelopes with lyre-shaped horns. The most remarkable feature, however, of the Gobi is an extensive lake, called Lob Nor, which lies in a depression surrounded by mountains of the loftiest character, whose drainage it receives without any appreciable effect upon its depth or area, though it has no apparent outlet. Near the rivers extensive marshes are of frequent occurrence, surrounded by barren tracts. South of the Tian Shan, and east of the Pamcer, wide sandy steppes are interposed between the mountains and the fertile districts. Towns and villages naturally follow the course of the rivers. On the plains the roads are sufficiently good for two-wheeled conveyances, but the ass and the dromedary are in greater request than carts. In the mountains recourse is had to that hardy and useful animal, the Yak.

According to Captain Wood, the Yak usually stands about forty-two inches in height. It is covered with hair. Its belly is not above six inches from the ground, which is swept by its bushy tail, and long hair streams as it were down its dewlap and fore legs. The horns are those of the bovine race, to which it belongs. A light saddle with horn stirrups is placed upon the back, and a string, passed through the cartilage of the nose, serves for a bridle. In Badakhshan the Yak is commonly known as the Kash-gow. These animals are as sagacious as the elephant, perfectly sure-footed, and fond of extreme cold. In summer time they ascend to the line of perpetual snow, but in winter come down to their calves which are left below. They go in great herds, which will keep at bay a whole pack of wolves. Their mode of grazing is peculiar. They eat upwards from a lower level to a higher, furrowing through the snow with their nose to get at the short grass beneath.

Their hair is clipt in spring, and woven into various articles.



The tail is the familiar *chowry*, or fly-flapper, of Hindostan, though in the hills it is made into ropes. The milk is remarkably rich. The Yak does not thrive in warm climates, and even at Kabul, 6000 feet above the sea, it pines away. The specimens that have occasionally been introduced into Europe belong to a Chinese variety, whose horns are even with the plane of the visage, while those of the Yak of the Pameer and the Karakoram mountains are projecting.

The population of Kashgaria is conjectured at between three and four millions, and comprises Oozbegs, Kipchaks, Moghuls, Mohammedans, Chinese, Tunganis, Kalmuks, and Tajeeks, while the Kirghiz roam over the mountains with flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of yaks and camels. The original inhabitants of Eastern Toorkestan were of the Aryan race, and are largely represented among the Yarkund villagers even at the present day, their descendants being described as tall gaunt men, resembling the typical Yankee in figure, and with long faces, but with good noses and full beards.

About the middle of the second century B.C., says Mr Shaw, the Youchee Tatars were expelled by other Tatar tribes from their homes in the north-east and driven into the districts of Yarkund and Kashgar, where they mastered or dispossessed the Aryans. A small remnant of that ancient stock was cooped up for ages in the valleys of the Sarikol district, in the angle formed by the intersection of the Pameer and the Muztagh, or Karakoram, mountains. Quite recently this interesting colony, numbering from 1000 to 1500 souls, having exhibited symptoms of insubordination, was transplanted by the Atalik Ghazee into the more cultivated regions. Their language was nearly pure Persian, with a few Toorkee words intermingled, but the Yarkund Aryans have entirely lost the language of their forefathers and speak only Toorkee.


The Oozbegs are the most civilized of all the various tribes



to encounter until they had entered the deeper defiles of the lower Himalayas. The portion of the line intervening between the crest of the Karakoram range and the plains of Toorkestan is quite practicable, and, as in all human probability it is here that the Russian and Indian empires will first come into contact, and the frontiers run conterminous, this fact is deserving of especial consideration.'

Moonshee Mohammed-i-Hameed, commonly called Major Montgomerie's Meerza, started from Leh on the 24th August, 1868, and took what is known as the summer route to Yarkund. Panamick, seven days' journey from Leh, being the last point where good grass was obtainable, he halted there two days preparatory to undertaking the nineteen days march that lay between him and Kilian, the first village in Eastern Toorkestan. His road traversed lofty desolate mountains, and for twelve days not a blade of grass was visible. On the 20th September he emerged into the plains, and reached Yarkund on the 30th, though five days is the time usually occupied between that city and Kilian. Starting from any place in the Punjab at the foot of the Himalayas, a traveller on horseback will take sixty-six days in crossing over into Central Asia, of which twenty-five will be passed at an elevation never lower than 15,000 feet, and for forty-five days above 9000.

The mountain range between Little Tibet and Eastern Toorkestan is not less than 450 miles in length, and varies in height from 20,000 to over 28,000 feet. Some faint idea of the stupendous character of the volcanic agency that upheaved this tremendous barrier may be afforded by the fact that the base of the Himalayas is nowhere less than 400 miles in breadth from north to south. It is as if all England and Scotland between London and Edinburgh were suddenly broken up, and raised in precipitous masses, to a height of which the lowest indentation, or valley, should be on a level with the summit of Mont Blanc.



The route recommended by Mr Johnson starts from the Punjab to the Hindostan and Tibet road to the Chinese frontier, crosses the Chumourti plains to the Indus, whence it proceeds to Rudok, and thence by the Changthang Pass to Polou, five marches to the south-east of Ilchi, or Khotan. This is a circuitous way, but possesses the advantages of grass, water, and fuel, and avoids the most rugged passes. Wheeled conveyances, Mr Johnson asserts, may be driven from the Changchenmo valley viâ Rudok to Ilchi and Yarkund. He further pronounces the route across the Karakoram Pass to be good so far as the mere road is concerned, but it is destitute of water and grass, and in winter the cold is so intense that men and laden animals have been frozen to death on the lofty plateau between the Niobra and the Karakash rivers.

Lieutenant Hayward was informed by an Afghan trader that the best route was by the Chitral valley, but that it would be unsafe for an English traveller. One of the highest living authorities, however, is undoubtedly Mr Robert Shaw, formerly a tea-planter in the Kangra valley, subsequently British Commissioner at Leh in Ladakh, and now British Resident at the Court of the Ameer of Kashgaria. The Ladakh district is formed by the widening of the valley of the Upper Indus, and lies midway between the 'ten long mountain ridges, more or less parallel, which divide India from Turkestan'—having five of these ridges on each side. To the east and south-east lie the districts of Rudok and Chumourti; to the south, Lahoul and Spiti; to the west Kashmeer and Baltistan, the former separated from it by the Western Himalaya, the latter by an imaginary line drawn from the mouth of the Dras to the sources of the Niobra. Its greatest length from N.W. to S.E. is 240 miles, and its greatest breadth 290, but its mean length is about 200, and its mean breadth 150 miles, containing a superficial area of 30,000 square miles.

Ladakh, says General Cunningham, is called by the Tibetans La-tags, and also Mar-yul, or the Red or Low Land, and sometimes Kha-chan-pa, or Snow Land. It was formerly subject to Lhasa, but in 1834 it was seized by Golab Sing, and is now a province of Kashmeer. The people are Buddhists, and speak of themselves as the Bot-pa. The Ladakh valley is the central and most populous portion of the district. It is 120 miles long and 33 in width, comprising an area of 4000 square miles, with a mean elevation of 11,500 feet, though the town of Leh is placed by Hayward at 11,740 feet above the sea.

From India Leh is reached by 'following up the two easiest of the five rivers of the Punjab to their sources. Travellers from the southern part of the Punjab take the route by the Beas river, which leads through the beautiful valley of Kullu; while the more northerly route follows the Jhelam river into the equally beautiful and more celebrated Vale of Cashmir. From these valleys respectively, each route crosses over the watershed into the drainage of the Upper Indus, a region distinguished by aridity and high elevation, and forming part of the vast plateau of Tibet. They thus arrive finally at the great depression of the Upper Indus called Ladâk.'

'Thence,' continues Mr Shaw,\* 'there is a choice of two routes again, and a very few words will suffice to show their relative merits. Beyond Ladâk the lofty mountain ranges are drained by rivers running in a general direction of N.W. The direct road to Turkistan, which is the old one, strikes boldly across all the difficulties of this district, climbing up to the ridges, and plunging into the gorges, going at right angles to their general direction, and finally crossing into the Central Asian basin, over the high lip or edge called the Karakoram Pass, where for five days, at an elevation averaging 17,000 or 18,000 feet above the sea, no fodder can be found for the bag-

\* *Ocean Highways*, August, 1872.

gage animals. With the view of avoiding these difficulties, other routes have been sought out. It has been found that by going round a little to the east, the heads of all these rivers can be turned, and the traveller can pass round them in a high country, where the ranges have sunk down, and the valleys have been exalted so as to form a comparatively level tract with but few formidable irregularities. This region, moreover, possesses the advantage of supplying grass for the horses at almost every stage, so that there is only one day in which the animals are entirely dependent on the grain carried with them.'

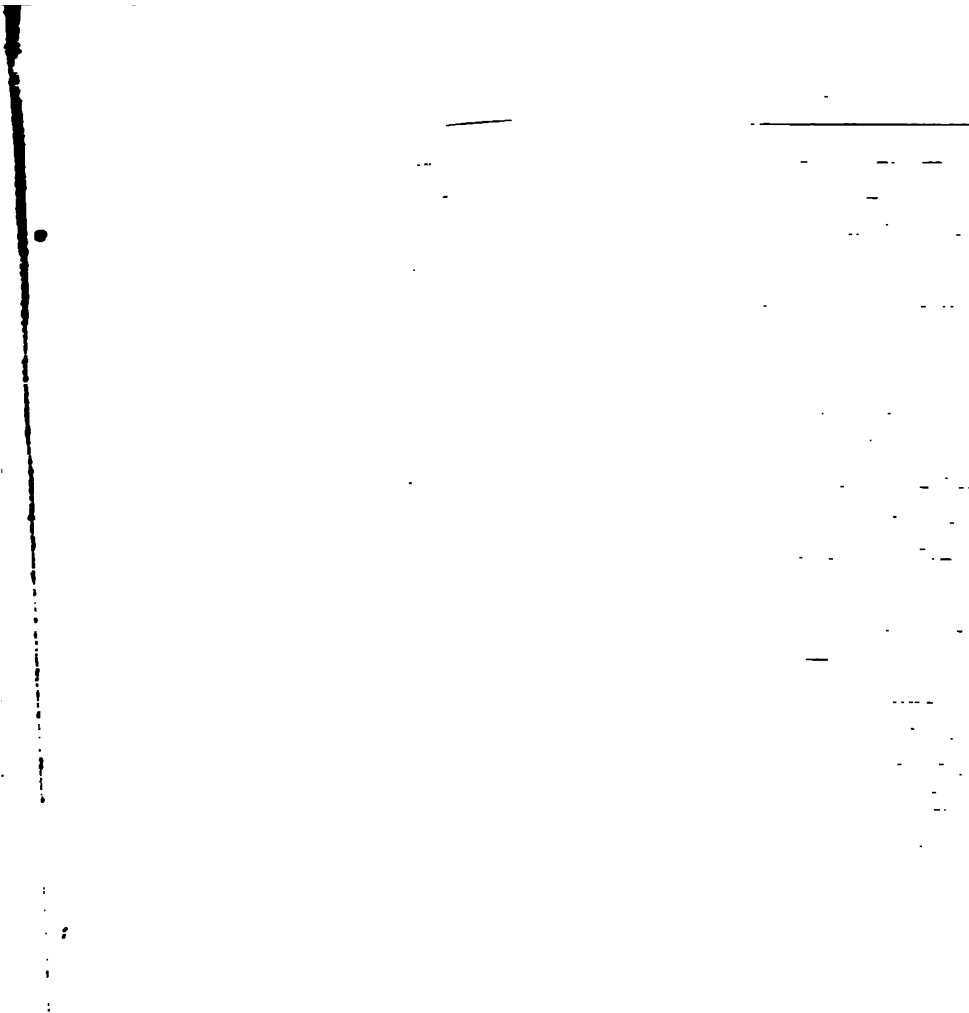
It is not, however, from this quarter that any danger to the security of the British rule in India can be seriously apprehended. Under certain conceivable circumstances some mischief might possibly be wrought by the intrigues of secret emissaries instructed *spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas*, but for such purpose it is by no means necessary that Russia should possess a dominant influence in Eastern Toorkestan. Malicious rumours may be originated at any point beyond as well as within her territories, but it is scarcely possible that an invading army will ever be hurled against India, even through the comparatively practicable valleys between the Karakoram and Kuen Lun ranges. Neither can it be pretended that the money value of the trade that under the most favourable contingencies is ever likely to be carried on between British India and Central Asia is worthy of much consideration on the part of the British Government, or deserving of any very vigorous exhibition of diplomacy. As a general rule, trade may be safely trusted to find its own level, and no amount of lectures or leading articles will induce the people of Eastern Toorkestan to lean to Anglo-Indian rather than to Russian traders, unless they find it to be to their positive advantage to do so, through the inferior price or superior quality of the goods offered in barter for their own raw materials or textile fabrics. It is



Dan, Naphthali, Zabulon, and Asser. They are described by Hiouen Tsang as a hard and violent race, without religion, without letters, and of a mean aspect. The country he calls *to-tch'oang*, and speaks favourably of its productive powers, notwithstanding the coldness of the climate, which necessitated the use of woollen garments. In the eyes of Marco Polo, Badakhshan was a very great kingdom, producing lapis lazuli, *rubies*—whence it was sometimes named Balakh-khan, or Ruby Land—and silver ore. The horses, he adds, were wonderfully swift, and though unshod traversed the mountains with ease and safety. This statement is in some degree confirmed by Captain Wood, except that he represents them as being shod on the fore feet with circular shoes. They are small, hardy animals, and always go at a gallop over the most rugged and difficult country.

At the present day the population is almost exclusively Tajeek, a quiet, hospitable people, speaking Persian, much given to trade, and professing the doctrines of the Sheeahs. A local tradition traces their origin to the neighbourhood of Baghdad, and they themselves pretend that their name is derived from the Arabic word *Tadj*, an ornament for the head which the founder of their race stole from Mohammed. It is probable, however, that they come direct from the original inhabitants of the country.

Sir Alexander Burnes was charmed with the romantic beauty of the scenery, and speaks like a 'kindly Scot' of its mountain streams, leaping down from the highlands and fertilizing the plains. The fruits, the flowers, and the nightingales, likewise drew forth expressions of delight. It is true that he had just emerged from the bleak gorges of the Hindoo Koosh, and was prepared to welcome the change from barren cliffs and gloomy precipices to the pleasant champaign country that lay spread out before him.



■ Tooth-Breaker Pass, so called from its extreme ruggedness and  
■ steepness. It thence descends into a narrow valley lined with  
■ orchards of apricot trees, and then passes between cliffs 3000  
feet in height, and not 300 yards apart. Beyond this is the Kara  
Kotal, or Black Pass, the last on this route though still ninety-  
five miles from the plains, and after a while the village of Dooab  
is reached in the bed of the river of Khulm, between precipices  
that appeared to Sir Alexander Burnes as 'terrific.' The  
banks of the river, however, are overgrown with rank hemlock,  
peppermint, bramble, sweet-briar, and hawthorn, and other  
'homely' shrubs and plants. A further descent between  
'tremendous defiles,' with hawks and eagles circling overhead,  
leads through the Khurm valley to Aibek or Heibuk.

The poisonous arum is here common as a weed; vast flocks  
browse on aromatic pastures; herds of deer bound along the  
rocks overhead; wild hogs haunt the reeds and jungle; while  
the heart of the valley is a vast orchard of fruit-frees. Aibek  
itself is a flourishing village, famous for its dried apricots. It  
is the ancient Samangan, the birth-place of Roostam, and the  
residence of the father of Rudaba, his wife. A conical rock-  
cell on the summit of an isolated mound is still known as the  
Takht-i-Roostam, or Roostam's throne. Chinghiz is said to  
have exterminated 7000 Hindoo families who at that time  
peopled this valley. A castle built of sun-dried bricks stands  
upon a hillock commanding the valley. The houses are dome-  
shaped, with a hole in the centre at the top, evidently modelled  
on the Toorkish *yourka*, and not unlike the Kamtschadale *jourts*  
described in Captain King's continuation of 'Cook's Voyages.'  
The climate is mild, but snakes and scorpions are disagreeably  
plentiful. The road at last debouches from the hills by a  
narrow defile, easily defensible, the mountains rising out of the  
plain like a wall, black, bare, and abrupt.

The chief town in Khulm is properly called Tashkurghan,



year these pleasant pastures are covered with snow, but in the plain the summer heat is excessive. Two small rivers descend from the mountains and discharge themselves into the Oxus, which flows about forty miles to the north of the chief town. Kunduz is, in fact, rather a hamlet than a town, consisting of five or six hundred mud hovels, some sheds built of straw, and a certain number of Oozbeg tents. At the east end, upon a low mound surrounded by a broken-down mud wall and a dry ditch, stands the fort, built of kiln-dried bricks, the winter residence of the late Moorad Beg, a tyrant, and, in a small way, a conqueror, whose followers were simply an organized banditti 15,000 strong, with whom he overran and plundered the country from Balkh to Chinese Toorkestan.

The Oozbeks, as the dominant class, will take to wife the daughter of a Tajeek, but no Tajeek may hope to marry the daughter of an Oozbeg. The priests, being Khojas, have considerable influence, but at that time were notoriously engaged in the traffic of slaves. Few Oozbeks condescend to read or write. They delight in robes of scarlet and other glaring colours, though the women prefer dark, or pure white, dresses, with a showy silk handkerchief bound round the head. A wife may be sold, but not a dog.

The Kunduz horses are inferior to those of the Toorkomans, but not less patient of fatigue, and better adapted for hill work. On completing their first year they are mounted by a light weight, and ridden at top speed for some distance, but for the next two years the saddle is not again placed upon their backs. After the third year they are broken in, and circular shoes placed on their fore feet.

The Oozbeks take two meals a day, one in the forenoon, and the other at twilight. They prefer horseflesh, but content themselves with mutton made into soup and pillao, which they eat with white leavened bread of good quality. Tea never

comes amiss to them. It is called Keirnuuk Cha, or Cream Tea, and is boiled in a large iron pot, from which it is baled out with a wooden ladle, and handed round by the host in small china bowls. It is softened with rich, clotty cream, or, where that is unobtainable, with fat, salt taking the place of sugar. The tea-leaves are sometimes served after dinner by way of dessert.

Moorad Beg's summer residence was at Khana-a-abad, the Gana of Marco Polo, situated about seventeen miles from Kunduz on the banks of a small river crossed by a stone bridge. Immediately behind rises an isolated mountain, 2500 feet in height, called Koh Uंबर, which divides the Kunduz district from that of Talikhan. According to tradition the Koh Uंबर was transported thither from Hindostan, and on its sides may be found every herb indigenous to India. Above the hills on the road to Talikhan may be seen many eagles, with flocks of white-backed and hooded crows, as in the time of the Venetian traveller. There is, of course, a fort, and a large building for the use of the governor, besides two medressehs, and five or six hundred mud huts.

In a northerly direction towards the Oxus is the town of Hazrat Imam, as large as Kunduz, with a much superior fort encircled by a wet ditch. The place has the reputation of being unhealthy, but this is partly attributable to the inveterate habit of the Oozbegs of encamping and settling on the swampy plains rather than move to the high grounds. Of the 25,000 families deported from the northern side of the Oxus in 1830 by Moorad Beg, scarce 6000 survived eight years later. The Oozbegs hunt down the pheasants in these parts on horseback, the birds after a couple of flights running along the ground. To the south of Kunduz at the foot of the Hindoo Koosh are two small towns, Khost and Anderab, neither of which merits particular notice.

Fifty miles east of Kunduz, and 170 from Balkh, the ham-

let of Talikhan—the Talakien of Hiouen Tsang, the Taican of Polo, and the Talhan of Goës—with its three or four hundred hovels, stands in a fruitful tract of land favourable to the vine. It is now peopled by Badakhshies, probably descended from the Venetian's 'evil and murderous generation, whose great delight is in the wine-shop' (though Mohammedans); 'for they have good wine (albeit it be boiled) and are great toppers; in fact, they are constantly getting drunk. They wear nothing on the head but a cord, some ten palms long, twisted round it.' They were then mighty huntsmen, and clad themselves in the skins of beasts. Salt mines are worked in the neighbouring mountains.


A market is held twice a week, and the busy scene awoke pleasant recollections in Captain Wood's mind. 'Troops of horsemen were hurrying into market, many riding double. Gaudily painted cradles, toys, bird-cages, skins of animals, and white and striped cotton cloth, were the articles forming the stock in trade of most of the dealers. All whom we met were blythe and jocund, and but for the difference of dress, and the large proportion of those who rode, I could have fancied them my own countrymen hastening to some merry fair in Old England.' Notwithstanding the bird-cages nests are not molested, and the sparrows, which flew about in flocks, took no trouble to conceal their eggs. Talikhan was taken by Chinghiz Khan after a siege that lasted upwards of six months. Enraged by the heroic resistance of the garrison, the barbarian left not a soul alive, or one stone standing upon another.

A mountain ridge divides Afghan Toorkestan from Badakhshan. The road lies through the Lattaband Pass and descends into the valley of Ak-Bolak, or the White Springs, and so on to Kila Afghan, about thirty miles from Talikhan,—when the snow is on the ground infested by packs of wolves. Taishkhan is reached after a further journey of twenty-six miles, beyond

which the Junasdurah range rises to the height of 6600 feet. When traversed by Captain Wood these mountains were covered with snow, but the descent on the eastern side was facilitated by following the tracks made by the wild hogs. 'So numerous are these animals that they had trodden down the snow as if a large flock of sheep had been driven over it.' He then crossed the narrow valley of Darah-i-Aim and the plain of Argoo, once peopled by 6000 families, but then utterly desolate. He next came upon the undulating district of Reishkhan, where Khan Khoja, fleeing from Kashgar before the victorious Chinese, was treacherously attacked, defeated, and mortally wounded by Sooltan Shah, who was himself put to death a few years later by Ahmed Shah Dourani.

Traversing the Kokcha valley, Captain Wood halted at the small hamlet of Chittah. Since his departure from Talikhan he had seen no signs of animal life save the hog-tracks and a few partridges. It was, no doubt, the winter season, but still it appeared to him strange and depressing, that except in villages thirty miles apart not a single human being had been encountered during a journey of upwards of eighty miles. Fyzabad, the present capital of Badakhshan, was only distinguished by 'the withered trees which once ornamented its gardens.' It had been destroyed by Moorad Beg, and the inhabitants carried off to Kunduz, 'a place only fit to be the residence of aquatic birds.'

It has since then revived, and is once more a place of comparative importance. It stands on the right bank of the Kokcha, and carries on a small trade in cast-iron utensils, the manufacture of which, as Colonel Yule suggests, may have been taught by Chinese exiles or slaves. The town is unwallled, but the Zagarchie, or old citadel, overlooks it from the south bank of the river, and the Meer lives in a mud fort, only useful in the event of a sudden riot. The Khirkat-i-Shureef, or the



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Throughout the month of January, the thermometer never rose above 40° at noon, and at evening was as low as 10°. In the most active communities in which the upper valley of the Orca is exposed, is the frequency of severe earthquakes. In 1879 a shock was felt from Tahoe to Fern, where 15 persons were killed out of 300 inhabiting three hamlets that were overturned. In the neighboring valley of S. Okanogan, eighty have perished out of a population of 150. The mountains are often much shattered, and landslides occur on a considerable scale.


Passing through Jehik, a considerable village with houses touching one another as in an English street, Captain Wood entered the petty State of Wakhan, after encountering the 'Bad-y-Wakhan,' a piercingly cold wind which blows for a month in the year, when 'it goes to sleep,' as the local saying is, the clouds gather from all quarters. Wakhan, the Inglen of Hindoo Tanog and the Vusan of Marco Polo, embraces the upper valley of the Oxus for the distance of a three day journey from Ishkashim. When visited by Captain Wood, the depth of winter, it appeared to contain not more than a thousand inhabitants, though five times that number might find within its bounds a comfortable living.

The people are Sheeahs, and resemble the Tajeeks, but speak a peculiar dialect. They assert of themselves that they are descended from a Macedonian colony, planted by Alexander the Great, and, like the Badakhshies, they have a superstitious dislike to blowing out a light. They will wave their hand beneath a flame for minutes together, rather than breathe roughly upon it, and they point to some old forts formerly occupied by the Kafirs as ruins of the temples of the fire-worshippers. The men wear woollen *chupkuns*, some few sport a turban, but the ordinary head-gear is a tight-fitting cap. They are a rude and reckless community, and not at all particular as to the condition of their garments. The women's costume is simple, and consists of a long white woollen gown, with a piece of cotton cloth round the head—but this last is not universal. The women clean and spin wool, which the men weave into cloth.

From the Wakhan goat is obtained much of the hair-wool, of which Kashmeer shawls are made. A breed of dogs introduced from Chitral is much esteemed. They somewhat resemble the Scotch colly, have long ears, a bushy tail, and a slender frame, and are swift, fierce, and combative: their usual colour is black or reddish brown. Barley, pulse, and a little wheat, are grown in the lap of the valley, but not in sufficient quantity to supply the wants of the inhabitants.

Instead of a central fireplace, the Wakhannies make use of a stove placed against the side of the house, which gives out great heat, though the smoke is apt to be troublesome. When darkness approaches, the master of the house pulls down a dry willow branch from the rafters, which he cuts into convenient lengths, and lighting these primitive candles sticks them over the inner lintel of the door.

A common article of food is a kind of cheese called *kooroot*.. New milk, after being curdled, is well churned, and the butter-milk, after it has been thoroughly boiled, is poured into a bag,



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1. The first step is to identify the problem. This involves understanding the current situation and what needs to be improved.

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atics they prefer a chair to cushions or carpet, and pride themselves on their supposed Greek descent, though it is probable that they are simply descended from the idolaters whom the Mohammedans drove out of Kandahar. Different but cognate dialects are spoken by the different sections of the community, and all based upon Sanskrit.

They believe in the Unity of the Deity, though they make themselves graven images of wood and stone, male and female, on foot and on horseback, to represent great personages who have passed away from this world and now act as mediators and intercessors. In their eyes there is no virtue greater than a liberal and hospitable disposition. The idols are sprinkled with cow's blood, and fire is used at all religious ceremonies. They erect a stone and say: 'This stands for God, but we know not His shape.' A fire is kindled in front of the stone, and through the flames are thrown flour, butter, and water, while the blood of a victim is sprinkled upon the stone itself. Part of the flesh is burnt, and part eaten by the priests, who are hereditary, but devoid of influence.

Fish is their abhorrence, but they are partial to goats' flesh and to game. Their chief diet, however, consists of cheese, butter, milk, bread, and suet pudding. Meat they prefer half raw. Both sexes drink too freely of wine, which is of various qualities, red, white, and dark, with one kind almost of the consistence of jelly, and very strong. They use silver goblets, and possess pottery of curious patterns.

Men marry at from twenty to thirty years of age, and women at about fifteen or sixteen. A bride is occasionally valued at as many as twenty cows. Marriage is not so much a religious ceremony as an excuse for eating, drinking, singing, and dancing. Polygamy is practised, and all the drudgery is done by women. A mother and her babe are put away into a house outside the village, and are considered impure for twenty-four



days, at the expiration of which they are brought back with song and dance.

The costume of the common people consists of four goat skins, two for a vest and two for a petticoat, worn with the long hair outside, and girded round the waist with a leather belt; their arms are uncovered. The fish-people go bare-headed, except when they have slain a Moslem. They shave their heads, with the exception of a long tuft on the crown, and a curl over each ear. The beard is suffered to grow to the length of four or five inches, but they pull out the hair from the upper lip, the cheeks and neck. Rich people wear a shirt beneath the vest, as do also the women, and instead of goat-skins clothe themselves in cotton or black hair cloth, some preferring a white blanket woven in Kashmir, worn something like a Scottish plaid, but reaching to the knee and fastened round the waist by a belt. They likewise indulge in cotton trousers, which, as well as the shirts, are embroidered with flowers in red and blue worsted. The women dress like the men, only that their hair is plaited and twisted round on the top of their head, surmounted by a small cap, round which a light turban is wound. Silver ornaments and cowry shells are decidedly fashionable. Virgins are distinguished by a red fillet round the head. Both sexes have rings round the neck and in the ears, and are partial to bracelets of pewter or brass, and especially of silver.

The houses are built of wood, with cellars for storing cheese, ghee, wine, and vinegar. They usually sit on drum-shaped stools of wickerwork, like the Indian *morah*, and make use of tables. They are passionately fond of dancing of a vehement character. Their musical instruments are a tabor and pipe, and the dancers keep time with their voices as well as with their feet. Their music is quick, varied, and somewhat wild.

In hunting and in war, they use a bow fifty-four inches in length, with a leathern thong for string. Their arrows are

made from light reeds, and have barbed heads, occasionally poisoned. On the right side they carry a dagger, and on the left a sharp knife. Firearms and swords are still scarce, but are becoming more common than formerly. The greatest glory a Siahpoosh can ever hope to attain is by slaying a Mohammedan. Otherwise, they are represented as a harmless, affectionate people, merry and sociable, and as placable as they are passionate. It has been related in a preceding chapter how Timour succeeded in striking awe into these barbarians by lowering himself and his troops down by platforms from ridge to ridge, until he reached the level of their narrow valleys. With that one exception, they have always preserved their independence.

In the Upper Valley of the Beilam or Kunar river lies the considerable district of Chitral, which Colonel Yule is disposed to regard as identical with the Venetian traveller's Cascar, or Cashkar. Moorcroft speaks of an Upper and a Lower Chitral, each with a chief town named Mastuch, or Mastoi. The Raja, who resided chiefly at Yassin, was a Soonee, while his people were Sheeahs. They are Dards and Dungars, and speak a mixed dialect. Though tall, athletic men, they are of cowardly disposition, and the women are stigmatized as coarse and immodest. Their heads are of a conical shape, caused by a strong band being tightly bound round them in infancy. According to tradition, Chitral was the Shrab Khana, or Wine Cellar, of Afrasiab. Colonel Yule conjectures that the Pashai province of Marco Polo, described as ten days to the south of Badakhshan, coincided with Chitral, though the Pashai tribe is now settled on the left bank of the Kabul river between that city and Jelalabad—an aboriginal race, with a dialect similar to that of the Kafirs, and not improbably the Udyana of Northern Buddhist legends. In the thirteenth century they were idolaters, and, according to Marco Polo, 'a pestilent people and a crafty, and they live upon flesh and rice.'

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and splendour could throw around him, would that those heaps of human skulls and bones could have been there to tell their silent tale of treachery and bloodshed. . . .

‘For my expedition, I may mention that I have reached Yassin, and have met with a friendly reception from the Rajah Meer Wulli Khan, the Chief of the country. I have explored nearly all the country in the basin of the Gilgit and Yassin rivers, and have now just returned from the foot of the Darkote Pass leading over into Wakhan and the basin of the Oxus. The Pass, as well as the Shundur Pass leading into Chitral, is now closed by the snow, and I find there is no chance of getting laden animals across until the month of June. Once across on to the Pamir, and I am very sanguine of being able to explore the whole country. The Yassin Chief has promised to assist in every way, and altogether everything promises well for the final success of the expedition. . . . As it is somewhat risky staying in Yassin until the Passes open, I am returning to Gilgit, with the intention of passing straight on to the Pamir as soon as the Passes open.’

To this interesting communication was appended the following Postscript, dated March 22nd, Camp, Gilgit Valley :— ‘I have just returned to Gilgit, most fortunately. The Kashmir officials here have caused a report to be spread that I had been plundered in Yassin (on the contrary, I have been particularly well treated), and the Kashmir force has marched out towards Gilgit with the intention of invading Yassin. They are now hurrying back, but not before I have become acquainted with the facts of the case, and the deep scheme to forward their own views by such an act of faithlessness. Had I remained in Yassin and they had invaded, such an act would have been fatal to the whole Pamir expedition. The Yassin people could but have connected the aggression with my presence there.’

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made,—the people being nominally Sheeahs, but not strict observers of any particular system of religion or morality. The chief currency is in the form of gold dust, found in the sands of a little river that flows through the valley, and from which the Rajah collects a small royalty.

To the south-west, and on the banks of the same stream, lies the Chilas valley, whose inhabitants, formerly sincere Kafirs, are now insincere Mohammedans. South-east of Gilgit the mountainous and little known region of Baltistan occupies the upper valley of the Indus, extending sixty miles in length, and thirty-six in breadth. The chief town is named Skardo, and the people are probably the same as Ptolemy's Bultai. Not improbably this may have been the Po-lou-lo of the Buddhist Pilgrim, who reviles the inhabitants as brutal, regardless of justice and humanity, mean-looking, and devoid of religion. Though several convents existed, the monks were indolent and averse from study. At a later period, the name of Bolor seems to have been given to this district, whence it was transferred to an imaginary chain of mountains supposed by Humboldt and Ritter to have been the meridional axis of Asia.

It is time, however, to return to Captain Wood, whom we left at Kundut on the south side of the Panja. Crossing that river a little higher up, he reached the village of Langar-Kaish at an elevation of 10,800 feet, the last inhabited place he met with before he stood upon the table-land of Pameer. Instead of a fanciful meridional axis, he found himself upon an immense knotted mass of mountains, marking the convergence or point of bifurcation of two enormous ranges; of the Tian Shan to the north-east, and of the Himalayahs, with their parallel chains, the Karakoram and the Kuen Lun, to the south-east.

The mountain-land between the Upper Oxus valley and the basin of Eastern Toorkestan is, according to Colonel Yule, one of the least known regions of the surface of the globe. So





and thus describes His Imperial Highness's first experience campaigning in the desert:—'We eat, live, and sleep in a kebitka (the cupola-shaped tent of the nomads of Central Asia). To the left of the entrance is placed the bedstead of the Grand Duke; next to it, opposite the entrance, is mine; in a room with mine and to the right of the entrance is that of Dr. Sievers, and next to him, nearer to the entrance, on the floor, sits Baron Kaulbars. In the middle of the round kebitka is placed a little iron stove, with an iron chimney let through the roof; between the stove and my bedstead there is a folding-up table on which we take our meals, write our letters, &c. Near the bedsteads and beneath them are piles of saddles, bags, trunks, and portmanteaus. The walls of the tent are hung with our overcoats, caps, revolvers, and swords. The above is a description of our nomad abode, near to which stands a similar kebitka for our servants, furnished with an iron cooking stove, in which our tea and dinner are prepared. In this tent are stationed the Grand Duke's footman, the Court huntsman, Dmitry Labur; his Highness's Cossack, Ignatius Tobolsky; my military servant, Alexander; the Cossacks of his Highness's escort; and the people who have charge of our horses. Both these kebitkas, with their sides, stoves, and coverings, are packed on three camels, and accompany us everywhere. They are put up and taken to pieces in half an hour. On arriving at the halting-place, or the night encampment, Alexander's first duty is to take my copper kettle off his pack and fill it with any kind of water he can get, generally brackish or tainted, place it on the fire made by the Cossacks of the escort of all kinds of steppe plants, such as wormwood, camel's thorn, tamarisk, &c. Tea is then put into the copper kettle, and notwithstanding its evident dirtiness we drink it with great satisfaction out of metal tumblers. The bad taste of the tea is counteracted by a slice of lemon, extract of cranberry, or acid wine.'





At the well of Balta Saldyr, the Governor of Nourata, 'dressed in a brocaded dressing-gown and green Cashmere shawl, and mounted on a handsome horse,' rode forward to pay his respects to the Russian General, and placed 100 camels at his disposal, while the nomads opened a sort of fair, and offered for sale, fuel, cakes, tobacco, raisins, &c. The Governor also entertained the General and his Staff at an oriental repast, at which tea, pillao, and confectionery were plentifully served. He further presented the detachment with a thousand bundles of clover. 'Beyond Balta Saldyr,' writes a correspondent of the *Invalide*, 'the wide expanse of the desert offers a most dreary aspect. Nothing but sand, with just a few thistles and absinth plants to relieve the dire monotony of the scene. The further you penetrate the less vegetation there is, and the higher the sand-hills become. Sometimes the water is excellent, on other occasions it is slightly salt, though, as a rule, very tolerable, and fit to drink. The wells of the steppe are carefully dug, some of them reaching a depth of 100 feet, with a diameter of five feet and more. The inside is lined with stones, and the mouth protected from sand by an elevation of stones and trunks of trees. A bucket of goatskin attached to a rope is let down, and acts so well that even if there is but little water and the bucket touches the bottom, it never brings up any mud. We live chiefly upon biscuits and preserved food. As to the horses, they have to content themselves mostly with barley.'

The united Toorkestan division may be taken at about 5000 combatants, 1400 horses, 9000 camels, thirty-two guns, four mortars, and four iron ferry-boats. The Khan of Khiva, tardily coming to his senses, sent to the Russian camp twenty-one Russian subjects who had been kidnapped within the previous four years, and expressed his readiness to negotiate. General Kaufmann, however, merely accepted the prisoners, and prosecuted his march. Water now becoming scarce, an advanced

guard was pushed forward under Major-General Bardofsky, ceded by a platoon of riflemen, and in front of these a pair of eight Cossacks, while a short distance a-head of these again a small party of horsemen, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Ivanof and Tichmenief, four Cossacks, and nine Kirghiz guides. Late in the evening, a body of Toorkomans suddenly swooped down upon their prey, cutting down the leading guard and at the first discharge wounding the two officers, the Cossacks, and three of the Kirghiz. They feared, however, to come to close quarters, notwithstanding their overwhelming numbers and the comparatively disabled condition of this gallant little band. The sound of the firing brought up the platoon at the gallop, and the riflemen at the double, and the Toorkomans retreated with three killed and six wounded. This petty skirmish was a fair illustration of the entire campaign, far as fighting was concerned. Beyond natural obstructions the invaders experienced no opposition worthy of the name.

The real object of General Bardofsky's separation from the main body was to dig as many wells as possible at Adam Kriglan, and when he had excavated twenty General Kaufman set out from Khalaat. On the 15th May he made a fresh start from Adam Kriglan, but, owing to the delay caused in loading the camels and leading them down the steep hillocks of sand, very little progress was made, and water again running short the main body moved on to Alty-Kuduk, while General Bardofsky returned to Adam Kriglan and occupied three days in sinking forty more wells and in filling his casks and bottles. While thus engaged he was attacked by a small body of Toorkomans, who were, however, easily repulsed without any casualties on the Russian side. The camels now began to perish in hundreds. Of the 2800 camels belonging to the train before leaving Khalaat, only 1240 survived when General Bardofsky returned to Alty-Kuduk. It became necessary, therefore,

further to subdivide the small force collected at that spot. General Kaufmann accordingly pushed on, on the 21st, with ten companies of infantry, ten guns, and one sotnia of Cossacks.

The country between Alty-Kuduk and the Amou is described as a succession of mounds or huge billows of loose dry sand, excessively fatiguing, and affording shelter to the enemy's skirmishers. Throughout the whole night of the 22nd the camp was harassed on three sides, and the troops deprived of the rest so much needed. At dawn on the 23rd—to follow General Kaufmann's Report to the Military Department at St Petersburg—the detachment resumed their march, being still surrounded by the enemy. Two companies of Turkestan Rifles marching right and left of our van formed a continuous chain of skirmishers, who kept the enemy at a distance. The van was immediately succeeded by horse artillery, who had riflemen, sappers, and mitrailleuses, on their right, and infantry in loose order, with mountain guns, on their left. The next in the order of march were the train and beasts of burden, who were entirely surrounded by four companies of skirmishers, supported by two mountain guns. Five sotnias of cavalry and a rocket battery brought up the rear. Hardly had our troops begun to move when the enemy, suddenly opening fire, began to close in on all sides at once. But all their efforts were in vain. Marching with the same regularity which they had been taught on the parade ground, our troops, firing along the whole line, effectively checked the advance of the enemy. The natives, soon recognizing their utter impotence, gave a peculiar yell and decamped, to hide behind the nearest rising ground. After a while they reappeared and fired a volley, which did not cost us a single man. Thus the game went on for three or four versts, when the enemy, despairing of hindering our advance, determined to try their luck against our train. Even before this Major-General Golovatcheff, the commander of the force, who personally

directed the operations of the day, had ordered Col vatzki, the chief of the cavalry, to send one half of the right and the other to the left flank of our bag little later, the enemy having disappeared on our left, cavalry was concentrated on our right, which move natives mistook for a prepared attack, and they went away even before they had time to injure any of our General von Kaufmann having strictly forbidden any interruption of the march to the Amou by any more than was indispensably necessary, our troops took no notice of the enemy's retreat, but steadily marched on. They fired but a single grenade, which, bursting in the midst of the hostile mob, created no little terror and confusion.'

No further resistance was offered, though there have been fewer than 3500 Toorkomans, Kirghiz, and hovering round the Russian advanced guard. They evacuated their camp and fled to Shourakhan, but the Cossack head too much exhausted to keep up the pursuit for more than a few miles. 'When General von Kaufmann reached the summit of the hills whence he could see the Amou flowing in the distance all he discovered of the enemy were some stragglers in the rear of the main force.' A vessel laden with cattle and provisions was the immediate and welcome reward of this skirmish, though it is not pleasant to read that 'the enemy, to save themselves by swimming, but were nearly all killed or shot whilst struggling in the water.' The Khivans have been a little puzzled to distinguish the difference between humanity as practised by the Russians and inhumanity perpetrated by themselves.

On the 25th General Kaufmann was again on the march and on the 28th dispersed some Khivan troops stationed on the Pitniak hills, on the opposite side of the river. Three days later he crossed the Amou at Sheik-Aryk, with very slight

dition, though the passage occupied four days. On the 2nd June a strong reconnoitring body was pushed forward toward Hazarasp, probably the strongest town in the Khanat, and sustained a smart attack, smartly repelled. On the following day, after a slight skirmish outside the walls, Hazarasp opened its gates and submitted to the invaders. Here the column rested three days to give the Commissariat time to collect a train of native carts, as the camels were unfit for further service, and on the 8th resumed its march upon the capital.

At eight a.m. on the 10th June General Kaufmann arrived before the walls of Khiva, but only in time to learn that the town was already in possession of the combined Orenburg-Manghish-pak corps under General Verefkin. This corps, after repulsing a spirited attack by some 3000 Toorkomans on the 8th, had encamped in the environs on the 9th and planted a battery close to the outer or town wall. The Khan had by this time made his escape into the desert, but a desultory musketry fire was still kept up at intervals, to which the Russians responded by an hour's bombardment. At sunrise on the morning of the 10th the fire from the walls re-commenced, whereupon General Verefkin blew in one of the outer gates, and, without further resistance, established himself in the outer town. On the previous day he had received a slight wound on the head, and had two men killed and five officers and forty-five rank and file wounded. At two in the afternoon General von Kaufmann, attended by their Imperial Highnesses the Grand Duke Nicholas and the Duke of Leuchtenburg, made his triumphal entry into the capital of Khiva, and four days later the Khan surrendered himself a prisoner.

It is now time to trace the progress of the two corps from Orenburg and the Caucasus. The former detachment comprised nine companies of the Orenburg Infantry of the Line, a corps of sappers, 600 Orenburg Cossacks, six pieces of mounted artillery, six rocket apparatus, four mortars—20-pounders, two

people must depend on the scanty herbage in the courses. The nearest meadow land is fifteen versts from the hill of Tiube Tau, fifty versts along the Taldyk tract of the nomad Kirghize. The want of meadow land in the neighbourhood compels the inhabitants to graze on grass. The environs of Kungrad will support a flock of from 1000 to 1800 men.'

The combined detachments from Orenburg advanced in two parallel columns towards Khoja-Ili, flanked on their flanks. In front of the town a fort had been established, defended by 6000 infantry, six companies of light horse. The enemy, however, intimidated not only by the junction of the two columns, but also by the defection of Kalbin Beg, who had gone over to the Russians with 2000 Kirghiz and Toorkoman tents. The Russian detachment made a slight circuit to intercept the retreat of the Khivans, General Gerasimov with his Orenburgers marched straight against them. He was met at the gate by the elders, who tendered them no resistance. The Russians then advanced to the camp, and found it so completely deserted that the only traces of the enemy were the freshly constructed earthworks, a small flour mill and a solitary gun stuck fast in a garden. The

intercepted by canals, which might easily have been rendered impassable. As it was, a body of 3000 foot, with three guns, and supported by a cloud of the Yamood Toorkomans, made two or three swoops upon the train, and at Mangit sixteen Russians are acknowledged to have been wounded. The town was consequently stormed and committed to the flames,—another illustration of Muscovite civilization. On the 2nd June the march was resumed, sometimes through a reedy jungle, at other times through fields of tall grain, and on one occasion a small body of Yamoods made a dash at the train, but were easily repulsed. Again we are brought face to face with the barbarous character of Russian warfare. From Kitai Colonel Skobelev was despatched with two sotnias and a rocket battery to destroy every Yamood village within a circuit of several miles. After halting a few days at Kitai, the combined detachments pushed forward to Khiva, which they reached on the 9th June, after sustaining a sudden onslaught of some 3000 Toorkomans on the previous day. At sunrise on the 10th, as already related, General Verefkin occupied the outer wall, and held the town at his mercy.

The part borne by the Aral flotilla in these military operations was quite insignificant. The squadron consisted of the two steamers, *Perofski* and *Samarkand* and three long boats. On the 10th May the *Samarkand* silenced the guns of the Akkala Fort on the Ulkun Darya, though not before a shell penetrated her fore-castle, and in bursting wounded her commander and seven marines. By the 14th the flotilla had ascended to within thirty-five miles of Kungrad, where it was brought up by want of water. An ensign and five marines having been sent out to reconnoitre, and, if possible, open a communication with the land forces, were cut off by the enemy.

A third detachment from the west, starting from Chikislar on the Caspian, under the command of the same Colonel Mar-



from their halting-place the character of the country changed, the high sand hills were replaced by still higher and still steeper hills, composed of the finest hot lime dust, in which men and horses sank up to their knees. In the absence of the least breath of wind this dust remained stationary in the air, rendering breathing difficult, and covering the horsemen with a thick layer of dust. The situation of the cavalry detachment now became worse at every step they took. The horses were constantly falling and could hardly rise again; the exhaustion of the men reached its extreme limits; some unable to sit on their horses fell off in a kind of swoon; others on foot could not walk any further. It became necessary to have recourse to medical assistance to strengthen the weakest.'

At midnight, the wells of Orta-Koä being still invisible, Colonel Markosof had no choice but to stop where he was till daylight, three men being sent forward to discover the exact position of the wells. As hours passed and no tidings arrived, thirty of the least exhausted Cossacks were despatched to the advancing infantry to obtain a supply of water. The foot soldiers had fared no better than the cavalry. Although they had a sufficiency of water, 'they fainted from the unusual heat and dryness of the air; some of them, losing all their strength, dropped down, unable any longer to keep up with their echelon, which was scattered over ten versts.' The main body of the Cossacks, retracing their steps in the track of the thirty, bore up bravely until the sun had once more risen above the horizon. Then, indeed, they gave way altogether, 'and the detachment became a line of stragglers, hardly able to move, many even were without their horses, and could hardly keep their feet; others, hardly able to stand, led their wasted horses by the bridles. The men swooned away at each step, and several lost all consciousness.' At last about ten o'clock they were met by ten camels laden with water, the distribution of which Colonel

Chikislar, the campaign had proved successful at all points; and nothing more remained to be done but to distribute the honours and rewards that had been earned so well. The Khan of Khokan is henceforth to be addressed as 'Your Serene Highness,' instead of as 'Your Honour,' the title which he had previously enjoyed in common with ordinary Russian merchants. A silver medal, bearing the inscription, 'For the Khiva expedition of 1873,' and supported by a riband worked in the colours of the Orders of St George and Vladimir, was awarded to all who took part in that brief and memorable campaign. Generals Verefkin and Golovatchef each received the cross of the order of St George of the third class, and Colonel Lomakin was promoted to the rank of Major-General, while an Imperial Rescript recognized the merits of the Commander-in-chief in terms of high and merited laudation :—

'To our Aide-de-Camp General, Lieutenant-General Constantin von Kaufmann, Commander of the Troops of the Turkestan District and Governor-General of Turkestan.

'The hostile relations between the Khanate of Khiva and Russia compelled us at the beginning of spring of the present year to take decisive steps against the Khanate. The general command of all the troops destined for these operations was given to you. You were at the same time instructed to take the necessary measures to establish peace and order for the future. Under your guidance the troops, after undergoing incredible hardships and privations, and overcoming with admirable firmness all natural impediments, brilliantly achieved our object. You have fully justified our confidence by the wisdom and foresight displayed in the conduct of operations, and as a token of our acknowledgment of your merits we are pleased to appoint you a Knight of the second class of our Imperial Order of the Great Martyr and Victor St George, the insignia of

to Russia, especially if Meshed be brought within the meshes of the iron network. As time glides on, Merv will certainly emerge once more from obscurity, and become a link in the strategical chain of military posts connecting the extreme frontiers of the Russian Empire with Moscow and St Petersburg. Russia, it must be remembered, never advances with the wild bounds of the tiger, but rather with the cat-like stealthiness of the cheetah, and seldom springs till she is sure of not missing her prey. In any case, it is not so much an actual invasion of India that need be apprehended, as the concentration of considerable forces at advantageous points, ready to avail themselves of any opportunity that may be afforded by weakness or supineness, and, as it were, paralyzing one arm of her opponent by compelling the maintenance in India of at least 70,000 British soldiers.

It is well nigh twenty years ago that the justly lamented Sir Henry Lawrence indicated the surest and only means of averting all peril to India from without. 'Insensibly,' he said, 'and almost by *coup-de-main*, the Russian Empire has been extended for 13,000 miles across the whole continent of Europe and Asia, and for twenty degrees over America. Curbed to the south and west, Russia has not waited an hour to push forward her soldiers, her sailors, her savans, her engineers, and her labourers to the Caspian, to the Aral, and even to the mighty Amoor. Her old policy will now (1856) more vigorously than ever be pursued, and, though the dreams of a century will never be realized, her position in Persia will speedily be strengthened, and posts will be established in Central Asia, and even in China. Bomarsunds, if not Sebastopols, will arise at Orenburg, Astrakan, and Astrabad, perhaps even at Balkh and Herat. The wave has receded, to return with redoubled force, though at a different angle. Such has ever been and will be Russia's policy. There will be no Russian invasion of India, nor probably will

the tribes be impelled on us. . . There will be no foolish raid, as long as India is united, in tranquillity and contentment, under British rule. . . A small Russian army could not make good its way through Afghanistan, a large army would be starved there in a week. The largest army that could come, with Afghanistan and Persia in its train, would be met at the outlet of the only two practical passes, and while attempting to debouch would be knocked into pieces. . . Herat is no more the key to India than is Tabreez, or Khiva, or Kokan, or Meshed. The chain of almost impenetrable mountains is the real key to India. . . England's dangers are in India, not without; and we trust that it will be in India they will be met, and that there will be no third Afghan campaign. Such a move would be playing Russia's game. We are safe while we hold our ground and do our duty. Russia may tease, annoy, and frighten us by her money and by emissaries. She may even do us mischief, but she will never put her foot in Hindostan.'

There is a marked distinction, however, to be drawn between invasion with an idea to conquest, and invasion with an idea to molestation. It may, perhaps, be safely conceded that the former contingency is little likely to happen until the decadence of the British Empire has approached the hour of dissolution. The transport of a disciplined army of 100,000 men—and a smaller force would insure defeat and destruction—with artillery, ammunition, and commissariat stores, across Persia and Afghanistan, is an undertaking that would tax to the uttermost even the colossal resources of Russia. But expeditions for the purpose of annoyance, and of diverting to the East the aggressive power of Great Britain, are quite within the bounds of probability. Even were Persia and Afghanistan to preserve a strict neutrality, the rulers of Eastern Toorkestan and Bokhara would in vain protest against the violation of their respective territories.

tories, in the event of a Russian force being directed toward Kashmeer or Nepaul, the postern gates of British India.

The latter kingdom is still an unknown land. The Indian Government has hitherto tamely submitted to a degree of exclusiveness that was not so patiently endured in the case of either Japan or China. A British Resident, it is true, is stationed at Katmandoo, but he might as well be stationed at Timbuctoo. He holds no intercourse with the people, and is not even permitted to ride or drive about the country. His very attendants are spies upon his daily proceedings, and his sayings and doings are duly reported to the Nepaulese Government. Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, indeed, has avoided coming into collision with the power of England, and at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny he even rendered some sort of assistance, though not until it was no longer necessary. But it cannot be doubted that the feeling of the Nepaulese authorities is rather adverse than amicable, and that fear rather than friendliness has prevented the renewal of the hostile relations which existed less than sixty years since. The Maharajah of Kashmeer, again, is a tributary, and, by himself, impotent to harm, but it would not be through his own good will or exertions that his territories would be closed against a Russian force threading the valley of Chitral, or turning the flank of the Karakoram range on its way to Ladakh and the valley of the Indus.

England's danger and England's safety, however, in India, lie within and not beyond her own frontiers. There is little to apprehend from without, so long as the people of India are contented with British rule. But submission must not be mistaken for satisfaction. Asiatics are by temperament patient, reticent, and long-suffering, but this apathy is only an outward show, for inwardly they treasure up the memory of their wrongs, real or imaginary, and wait for the hour of vengeance, without making a sign. It is commonly asserted that the natives of India enjoy

greater happiness under the British administration than ever fell to their lot under either Hindoo or Mohammedan dynasties. The position may be questioned. It is, of course, undeniable that security of life and property now prevails where formerly a man's life was not worth a year's purchase, and where 'the good old rule, the simple plan' was the order of the day, 'that he should take who hath the power, and he should keep who can.' But happiness is by no means synonymous with 'good government.' It is not enough that all men should be equal before the law, or that the law itself should be theoretically and logically sound; it must also be conformable to the character of the people upon whom it is imposed. To be acceptable to a nation its laws must be of its own framing, must have grown with, and out of, its own growth,—must have been demanded before they were enforced.

This obvious truism has been too much overlooked by British legislators with regard to India. Their motives have been unexceptionable and generally benevolent, but they have reasoned from premises that did not apply to the case under consideration. They have been guided by analogies rather than by actual knowledge, the result of careful investigation. They have never carried their mind beyond the meridian of Greenwich, and while in the flesh at Simla or in Calcutta, they have remained in the spirit in the purlieus of Westminster. There has been quite enough of good intentions, but very much too little of true statesmanship. One great fault has been the strange omission to invite the co-operation of the natives themselves. The idea has been that a paternal government was essential to a people in a state of pupillage, who could not be expected to know what was best for them. This evil is of long standing. The growing jealousy of the native gentry, and the supercilious treatment to which they were being more and more subjected, was a constant subject of regret and remon-

strance on the part of both Sir John Malcolm and Sir Thomas Munro.


‘The main evil of our system,’ said the latter, ‘is the degraded state in which we hold the natives. . . We treat them as an inferior race of beings. Men, who, under a native government, might have held the first dignities of the State—who, but for us, might have been governors of provinces, are regarded as little better than menial servants—are often no better paid, and scarcely permitted to sit in our presence. We reduce them to this abject state, and then we look down upon them with disdain, as men unworthy of high station. Under most of the Mohammedan princes of India, the Hindoos were eligible to all the civil offices of government; and they frequently possessed a more important share in them than their conquerors.’ In another place he wrote, ‘the ruling vice of our government is innovation; and its innovation has been so little guided by a knowledge of the people, that, though made after what was thought to be mature discussion, it must appear to them as little better than the result of mere caprice.’ Upon the whole, Sir Thomas was of opinion that the natives had lost more than they had gained by passing under British rule. ‘One of the greatest disadvantages of our government in India,’ he added, ‘is its tendency to lower or destroy the higher ranks of society, to bring them all too much to one level, and, by depriving them of their former weight and influence, to render them less useful instruments in the internal administration of the country.’

To the same purport is the evidence of Lord William Bentinck, who declared that ‘in many respects the Mohammedans surpassed our rule; they settled in the countries which they conquered; the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and conquered became identified. Our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this—cold, selfish, and unfeeling. The iron

hand of power on the one side—monopoly and exclusion on the other.’

Moved by the same spirit, Sir John Malcolm wrote in 1824, ‘Our present condition is one of apparent repose, but full of danger. With the means we had at our command the work of force was comparatively easy; the liberality of our government gave grace to conquest, and men were, for the moment, satisfied to be at the feet of generous and humane conquerors. Wearied with the state of continued warfare and anarchy, they hardly regretted even the loss of power; halcyon days were anticipated, and men prostrated themselves in hopes of elevation. All these impressions made by the combined effects of power, humanity, and fortune, were improved to the utmost by the character of our first measures. The agents of government were generally individuals who had acquired a name in the scene in which they were employed; they were unfettered by rules, and their acts were adapted to soothe the passions and accord with the habits and prejudices of those whom they had to conciliate, or to reduce to obedience. But there are many causes which operate to make a period like this, one of short duration; and the change to a colder system of policy, and the introduction of our laws and regulations into countries immediately dependent upon us, naturally excite agitation and alarm. It is the hour in which men awake from a dream. Disgust and discontent succeed to terror and admiration; and the princes, the chiefs, and all who had enjoyed rank or influence, see nothing but a system dooming them to immediate decline and ultimate humiliation.’

During the last half-century many important changes have been made, and great progress has been achieved in the introduction of a ‘counterfeit presentment’ of western civilization. If European ideas and modes of thought have not actually taken root in the land, a shadowy resemblance may here and there be traced in political formularies, and social expressions. If we





have not yet succeeded in producing patriots, we have done something towards the propagation of parrots, and a Bengalee Baboo will imitate with marvellous precision the rounded periods of Johnson, or the declamatory rhetoric of Burke. His hands may be the hands of Esau, but his voice is the voice of Jacob. It is further worthy of note that the generation that had suffered from the misrule and oppression which preceded the establishment of British ascendancy has long since been gathered to its fathers, and the sense of liberation has been replaced by a consciousness of subjugation. At the same time a not ignoble ambition to take an active part in public affairs, has naturally been evolved from even the imperfect education that has yet been imparted. It is gradually coming to be understood that ideas are something more than mere figures of speech, and that Liberty, Patriotism, and National Life are realities, for the attainment of which every true man must be willing to toil, suffer, and, if need be, die.

At present this popular awakening is principally confined to the Anglicized Baboos, who are seldom men of action, but as they spread themselves, in search of employment, through the remotest provinces of the empire, they carry with them these germs of discontent and engraft them on manly vigorous races, clamorous for a career. And it is greatly to be regretted, that at the very moment the Bengalees, at least, seem willing to lay aside their old prejudices, adapting themselves to European habits and usages, a chilling coldness and want of sympathy on the part of British officers, both civil and military, are becoming painfully manifest. The attraction of the natives is thus counteracted by the repulsion of the Europeans, and a wide and dangerous gulf threatens to yawn between the two races. Much has unquestionably been done to enlarge the sphere of native usefulness, and Indian gentlemen administer laws, sit on the bench, and govern large tracts of country. Wherever con-

fidence has been reposed in their integrity they have shown themselves worthy of the trust, while their local knowledge has given them, in difficult emergencies, an immense advantage over their European colleagues.

Having proved themselves an honour to the magistracy, the bar, and the bench, it is not surprising that they should now look yet further afield, and insist upon their right, as well as their competence, to take part in the framing of the laws under which they are compelled to live. More particularly they ask for Consultative Councils elected by themselves, to which all financial measures shall be submitted for consideration, discussion, and revision. They who have to find the money, reasonably ask to have a voice in settling the mode in which it is first of all to be raised, and afterwards in regulating its distribution.

The independent princes, again, murmur at the tutelage in which they are held, contrary to the spirit of treaties, and protest against the constant irritating interference of Political Agents, not unfrequently subalterns, and almost invariably military officers trained only to command soldiers. Above all, the ancient nobles and landed gentry complain with too much reason that they are regarded either with contempt or with distrust. Their heartfelt desire is to follow the profession of arms, but in the British service there is no opening for a native gentleman. The Saxons of England under the Plantagenets were scarcely treated with greater insolence and suspicion than are exhibited towards the living representatives of the oldest and noblest families of Hindostan. They who best know these men speak in the warmest terms of their courage, manliness, and thorough loyalty.

In all times, in all countries, among all races and ranks of mankind, confidence has been found to beget confidence. If once we can satisfy the natural chiefs and leaders of Indian society that their interests are identical with our own, that

Trojan and Tyrian shall start fair, and on equal terms, in the race of public life, and that we regard them from our hearts as friends and fellow-subjects,—then it will little matter to us whether from what river in Central Asia the Cossack waters his panting horse, or from what snow-clad height the Russian sentinel looks down upon the scorched and withering plains below. But, again in the words of Sir Henry Lawrence, ‘legitimate outlets for military energy and ability in all ranks and among all classes must be given. The minds of Subadars and Ressildars, Sepoys and Sowars, can no more with safety be for ever cramped, trammelled, and restricted as at present, than can a twenty-foot embankment restrain the Atlantic. It is simply a question of time. The question is only whether it is to be gracefully conceded or violently seized. Ten or twenty years must settle the point.’

The extreme period has nearly elapsed, and the solution of the question is still undecided. It cannot, however, be longer deferred without serious injustice and grave peril. Concessions will avail nothing when the enemy is at the gates. Time presses, and the free spontaneous offer that will now be received with gratitude, will hereafter be spurned with derision when it is wrung from necessity and fear. Union is strength, but union is only possible where there is a community of interests and the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges.

THE END.



